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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(*Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.*)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

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WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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THE

HISTORY

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ENGLAND,

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TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER VIII.

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§ I.

§ 1. WHEN the Parliament met in October, the Queen in her speech took notice of the declaration by the Duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances advantageous to the alliance. She told them, that although no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the produce of prizes been so considerable, that the publick had not run in debt by those additional services; that she had contributed out of her own revenue to the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the Allies deserved her seasonable assistance. She said, she would not engage in any unnecessary expence of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended dispatch and union, and earnestly exhorted them to avoid any heats or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the Church and State. Notwithstanding this admonition, and the addresses of both Houses, in which they promised to avoid all divisions, a motion was made in the House of Commons for renewing the bill against occasional conformity, and carried by a great majority. In the new draft, however, the penalties were lowered, and the severest clauses mitigated. As the court no longer interested itself in the success of this measure, the House was pretty equally divided with respect to the speakers, and the debates on each side were maintained with equal spirit and ability: at length it passed and was sent up to the Lords, who handled it still more severely. It was opposed by a small majority of the Bishops, and particularly by Burnet of Sarum, who declaimed against it, as a scheme of the Papists to set the church and Protestants at variance. It was successively attacked by the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Haversham, Mohun, Ferrars, and Wharton. Prince

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George of Denmark absented himself from the House; and the question being put for a second reading, it was carried in the negative; yet the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin entered their dissent against its being rejected, though the former had positively declared, that he thought the bill unseasonable. The Commons having perused a copy of the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, for the sea service of the ensuing year; and a like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with the Allies, besides the additional ten thousand: they likewise resolved, That the proportion to be employed in Portugal should amount to eight thousand. Sums were granted for the maintenance of these great armaments, as well as for the subsidies payable to her Majesty's Allies; and funds appointed equal to the occasion. Then they assured the Queen, in an address, that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made, or should make, with the Duke of Savoy.

§ II. At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conspiracy said to be hatched by the Jacobites of Scotland. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, a man of desperate enterprise, profound dissimulation, abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had been outlawed for having ravished a sister of the Marquis of Athol, was the person to whom the plot seems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the Court of St. Germains, where he undertook to assemble a body of twelve thousand Highlanders to act in favour of the Pretender, if the Court of France would assist them with a small reinforcement of troops, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money. The French King seemed to listen to the proposal; but, as Fraser's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, sent back to Scotland with two other persons, who were instructed to learn the strength and sentiments

of the clans, and endeavour to engage some of the nobility in the design of an insurrection. Fraser no sooner returned, than he privately discovered the whole transaction to the Duke of Queensberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the Pretender and the Jacobites. In consequence of this service he was provided with a pass, to secure him from all prosecution; and made a progress through the Highlands to sound the inclination of the chieftains. Before he set out on this circuit, he delivered to the Duke a letter from the Queen Dowager at St. Germain's directed to the Marquis of Athol: it was couched in general terms, and superscribed in a different character; so that, in all probability, Fraser had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the Marquis, who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister. He proposed a second journey to France, where he should be able to discover other more material circumstances: and the Duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the Earl of Nottingham, though it was expedited under a borrowed name. The Duke had communicated his discovery to the Queen, without disclosing his name, which he desired might be concealed: her Majesty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her spies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John Maclean, who had lately been conveyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkstone. This gentleman pretended at first, that his intention was to go through England to his own country, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon; and this, in all probability, was his real design; but being given to understand that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unless he should merit forgiveness, by making important discoveries, he related all he knew of the proposed insurrection. From his informations the ministry gave directions for

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for apprehending one Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Fraser from France, and knew all the intrigues of the Court of St. Germain's. He declared, that there was no other design on foot, except that of paving the way for the Pretender's ascending the throne after the Queen's decease. Ferguson, that veteran conspirator, affirmed that Fraser had been employed by the Duke of Queensberry to decoy some persons whom he hated into a conspiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin; and by the discovery establish his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps there was too much reason for this imputation. Among those who were seized at this time was a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had been undersecretary to the Earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the Queen's pardon, under the shelter of which he came to England, thinking himself secure from prosecution. He protested he knew of no designs against the Queen or her government; and that he did not believe she would ever receive the least injury or molestation from the Court of St. Germain's. The House of Lords having received intimation of this conspiracy, resolved, That a Committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars: and ordered, that Sir John Maclean should be next day brought to their House. The Queen, who was far from being pleased with this instance of their officious interposition, gave them to understand by message, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and that she would in a short time inform the House of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the Queen went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill for the land-tax, made a speech to both Houses, in which she declared, that she had unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carried on.

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by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The Lords persisting in their resolution to bring the inquiry into their own House, chose their select committee by ballot; and, in an address, thanked her Majesty for the information she had been pleased to communicate. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ III. The Commons taking it for granted that the Queen was disobliged at these proceedings of the Upper House, which, indeed, implied an insult upon her ministry, if not upon herself, presented an address, declaring themselves surprised to find, that when persons suspected of treasonable practices were taken into custody by her Majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her hands, and arrogated the examination solely to themselves; so that a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against her Majesty's person and government might, in a great measure, be obstructed. They earnestly desired, that she would suffer no diminution of the prerogative; and they assured her, they would, to the utmost of their power, support her in the exercise of it at home, as well as in asserting it against all invasions whatsoever. The Queen thanked them for their concern and assurances; and was not ill pleased at the nature of the address, though the charge against the Peers was not strictly true; for there were many instances of their having assumed such a right of inquiry. The Upper House deeply resented the accusation. They declared, that by the known laws and customs of Parliament, they had an undoubted right to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether those persons were or were not in custody. They resolved, That the address of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, highly injurious to the House of Peers, tending to interrupt the good correspondence between the two Houses,

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Houses, to create an ill opinion in her Majesty of the House of Peers, of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the People, the Constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament. They presented a long remonstrance to the Queen, justifying their own conduct, explaining the steps they had taken, recriminating upon the Commons, and expressing the most fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her Majesty. In her answer to this representation, which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and precision, she professed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two Houses of Parliament, and thanked them for the concern they had expressed for the rights of the Crown and the Prerogative: which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.

§ IV. Among other persons seized on the coast of Sussex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aide-du-camp to the Duke of Berwick. This man, when examined, denied all knowledge of any conspiracy: he said, that being weary of living so long abroad, and having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pass, he had chosen rather to cast himself on the Queen's mercy, than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He was tried and condemned for high-treason, yet continued to declare himself ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland, as well as in Flanders, he had treated the English prisoners with great humanity. The Lords desisted from the prosecution; he obtained a reprieve, and died in Newgate. On the twenty-ninth day of January the Earl of Nottingham told the House, that the Queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumstance which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the risque of preventing a discovery

discovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and presented an address, desiring, that all the papers might be immediately submitted to their inspection. The Queen said she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made: but in a few days the Earl of Nottingham delivered the papers, sealed, to the House, and all the Lords were summoned to attend on the eighth day of February, that they might be opened and perused. Nottingham was suspected of a design to stifle the conspiracy. Complaint was made in the House of Commons, that he had discharged an officer belonging to the late King James, who had been seized by the Governor of Berwick. A warm debate ensued, and at length ended in a resolve, That the Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the Queen and her government, and for his steady adherence to the Church of England as by law established, highly merited the trust her Majesty had reposed in him. They ordered the Speaker to present this resolution to the Queen, who said she was glad to find them so well satisfied with the Earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable an office. They perused the examinations of the witnesses which were laid before them, without passing judgment, or offering advice on the subject: but they thanked her Majesty for having communicated those particulars, as well as for her wisdom and care of the nation. While the Lords proceeded with uncommon eagerness in their inquiry, the Lower House, in another address, renewed their complaints against the conduct of the Peers, which they still affirmed was without a precedent. But this was the language of irritated faction, by which indeed both sides were equally actuated.

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§ V. The select committee of the Lords prosecuted the inquiry, and founded their report chiefly on the confession of Sir John Maclean, who owned that the Court of St. Germain's had listened to Lovat's proposal; that several councils had been held at the Pretender's court on the subject of an invasion; and that persons were sent over to sound some of the nobility in Scotland. But the nature of their private correspondence and negociation could not be discovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret; and this was the circumstance which the Queen declined imparting to the Lords, until she should know the success of his endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The uncle stood aloof; and the ministry did not heartily engage in the inquiry. The House of Lords having finished these examinations, and being warmed with violent debates, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the Courts of France and St. Germain's; and, That the encouragement for this plotting arose from the not settling the succession to the Crown of Scotland in the House of Hanover. These votes were signified to the Queen in an address; and they promised, that when the succession should be thus settled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon just and reasonable terms. Then they composed another representation, in answer to the second address of the Commons, touching their proceedings. They charged the Lower House with want of zeal in the whole progress of this inquiry. They produced a great number of precedents, to prove that their conduct had been regular and parliamentary; and they, in their turn, accused the Commons of partiality and injustice in vacating legal elections. The Queen, in answer to this remonstrance, said, she looked upon any misunderstanding between the two Houses as a very great misfortune to the kingdom; and that she should never omit any thing in

in her power to prevent all occasions of them for the future. CHAP. VIII.

§ VI. The Lords and Commons, animated by such opposite principles, seized every opportunity of thwarting each other. An action having been brought by one Matthew Ashby against William White, and the other constables of Aylesbury, for having denied him the privilege of voting in the last election, the cause was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast with damages. But an order was given in the Queen's Bench to quash all the proceedings, since no action had ever been brought on that account. The cause being moved by writ of error into the House of Lords, was argued with great warmth: at length it was carried by a great majority, that the order of the Queen's Bench should be set aside, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the assizes. The Commons considered these proceedings as encroaching on their privileges. They passed five different resolutions, importing that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled had the sole right to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members: that the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law would expose all mayors, bailiffs, and returning officers, to a multiplicity of vexatious suits, and insupportable expences, and subject them to different and independent jurisdictions, as well as to inconsistent determinations in the same case, without relief: That Matthew Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attornies, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading in any case of the same nature. These resolutions, signed by the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Westminster-hall. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case; and, upon their report, resolved, That every person being wilfully hindered to exercise his 1703.

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right of voting, might maintain an action in the Queen's courts against the officer by whom his vote should be refused, to assert his right, and recover damages for the injury: That an assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subjects against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: That the declaring of Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of Parliament, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the votes of the House of Commons. Copies of the case, and these resolutions, were sent by the Lord-keeper to all the Sheriffs of England, to be circulated through all the boroughs of their respective counties.

§ VII. On the seventh day of February, the Queen ordered secretary Hedges to tell the House of Commons, that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrance, as an augmentation of their maintenance: that if the House of Commons could find any method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the publick, and acceptable to her Majesty. The Commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uses proposed: they likewise repealed the statute of Mortmain, so far as to allow all men to bequeath by will, or grant by deed, any sum they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgment from all the clergy of England were presented to the Queen for her gracious bounty: but very little regard was paid to Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, although the Queen declared that Prelate author

thor of the project. He was generally hated, either as a Scot, a Low-churchman, or a meddling Partisan. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ VIII. In March an inquiry into the condition of the Navy was begun in the House of Lords. They desired the Queen in an address to give speedy and effectual orders, that a number of ships sufficient for the home service should be equipped and manned with all possible expedition. They resolved, That Admiral Graydon's not attacking the four French ships in the Channel had been a prejudice to the Queen's service, and a disgrace to the nation: That his pressing men in Jamaica, and his severity towards masters of merchant vessels and transports, had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, as well as prejudicial to her Majesty's service; and they presented an address against him, in consequence of which he was dismissed. They examined the accounts of the Earl of Orford, against which great clamour had been raised; and taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commissioners of the publick accounts, found them false in fact, ill-grounded, and of no importance. The Commons besought the Queen to order a prosecution on account of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office: and they sent up to the Lords a bill for continuing the commission on the publick accounts. Some alterations were made in the Upper House, especially in the nomination of commissioners; but these were rejected by the Commons. The Peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped, and the commission expired. No other bill of any consequence passed in this session, except an act for raising recruits, which empowered Justices of the Peace to impress idle persons for soldiers and marines. On the third day of April the Queen went to the House of Peers, and having made a short speech on the usual topicks of acknowledgment, unity, and moderation, prorogued the Parliament to the fourth

day

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day of July. The division still continued between the two Houses of Convocation; so that nothing of moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the Queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the same time, the Lower House sent their Prolocutor with a deputation to wait upon the Speaker of the House of Commons, to return their thanks to that Honourable House for having espoused the interest of the clergy; and to assure them that the Convocation would pursue such methods as might best conduce to the support, honour, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the Archbishop and Prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation: but very little regard was paid to their remonstrances.

§ IX. About this period the Earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the Queen to discard the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. The Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed: the Earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley secretary of state, and Henry St. John secretary of war. The discovery of the Scottish conspiracy was no sooner known in France, than Louis ordered Fraser to be imprisoned in the Bastile. In England, Lindsay being sentenced to die for having corresponded with France was given to understand that he had no mercy to expect, unless he would discover the conspiracy. He persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy; and scorned to save his life by giving false information. In order to intimidate him into a confession, the ministry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn, where he still rejected life upon the terms proposed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years: at length he was banished, and died of hunger in Holland. The ministers had been so lukewarm and languid in the investigation

vestigation of the Scottish conspiracy, that the Whigs loudly exclaimed against them as disguised Jacobites, and even whispered insinuations, implying, that the Queen herself had a secret bias of sisterly affection for the Court of St. Germain's. What seemed to confirm this allegation, was the disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, who had exerted himself with remarkable zeal in the detection; but the decline of his interest in Scotland was the real cause of his being laid aside at this juncture. CHAP. VIII. 1703.

§ X. The design of the Court was to procure in the Scottish Parliament the nomination of a successor to the Crown, and a supply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding session: Secretary Johnston, in concert with the Marquis of Tweedale, undertook to carry these points, in return for certain limitations on the successor, to which her Majesty agreed. The Marquis was appointed Commissioner. The office of Lord-register was bestowed upon Johnston: and the Parliament met on the sixth day of July. The Queen in her letter expressed her concern, that these divisions should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emissaries for debauching her good subjects from their allegiance. She declared her resolution to grant whatever could in reason be demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them, she had empowered the Marquis of Tweedale to give unquestionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in Church and State as by law established in that kingdom; to consent to such laws as should be found wanting for the further security of both, and for preventing all encroachments for the future. She earnestly exhorted them to settle the succession in the Protestant line, as a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the Protestant interest through all

Burnet. Hist. of Q. Anne. Feuquieres. Lockhart. Burchet. Tindall. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire. Hist. of Europe. History of the Duke of Marlborough. An. 1704.

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§ XI. The Duke of Hamilton presented a resolve, That the Parliament would not name a successor to the Crown: until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. This motion produced a warm debate, in the course of which Fletcher of Salton expatiated upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two Crowns under one Sovereign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, unless they should take care to anticipate any design that tended to a continuation of the same calamities. Another resolve was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing, That the Parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of the government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution; for vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independency of the nation; and that then Parliament would take into consideration the other resolve offered by the Duke of Hamilton, for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor. This proposal was seconded by the Court party, and violent heats ensued. At length, Sir James Falconer, of Phesdo, offered an expedient, which neither party could refuse with any show of moderation. He suggested a resolve, That the Parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the previous treaty with England should be discussed; and that it would make the necessary limitations and conditions of government, before the successor should be

be nominated. This joint resolve, being put to the vote, was carried by a great majority. The treaty with England was neglected, and the affair of the succession consequently postponed. The Duke of Athol moved, that her Majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and all the papers relating to the conspiracy, that after due examination, those who were unjustly accused might be vindicated, and the guilty punished according to their demerits. The Commissioner declared, that he had already written, and would write again to the Queen on that subject. The intention of the Cavaliers was to convict the Duke of Queensberry of malice and calumny in the prosecution of that affair, that they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that instance of his animosity, as well as for his having deserted them in the former session. He found means, however, to persuade the Queen, that such an inquiry would not only protract the session, but also divert them from the settlement of the succession, and raise such a ferment as might be productive of tragical consequences. Alarmed at these suggestions, she resolved to prevent the examination; and gave no answer to the repeated applications made by her Parliament and ministers. Meanwhile the Duke of Queensberry appeased his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the opposition. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XII. The Duke of Hamilton again moved, That the Parliament should proceed to the limitations, and name Commissioners to treat with England, previous to all other business, except an act for a land-tax of two months, necessary for the immediate subsistence of the forces. The Earl of Marchmont proposed an act to exclude all Popish successors; but this was warmly opposed, as unseasonable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of supply being offered by the Lord Justice Clerk, the Cavaliers tacked to it great part of the Act of Security, to which the Royal assent had been refused in

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the former session. Violent debates arose; so that the House was filled with rage and tumult. The national spirit of independence had been wrought up to a dangerous pitch of enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with people of all ranks, exclaiming against English influence; and threatening to sacrifice as traitors to their country, all who should embrace measures that seemed to favour a foreign interest. The Commissioner and his friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the Queen, representing the uncomfortable situation of affairs, and advising her Majesty to pass the bill, encumbered as it was with the Act of Security. Lord Godolphin, on whose counsel she chiefly relied, found himself involved in great perplexity. The Tories had devoted him to destruction. He foresaw that the Queen's concession to the Scots in an affair of such consequence, would furnish his enemies with a plausible pretence to arraign the conduct of her minister: but he chose to run that risque, rather than see the army disbanded for want of a supply, and the kingdom left exposed to an invasion. He, therefore, seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; and the Queen authorised the commissioner to pass the bill that was depending. The act provided, That in case of the Queen's dying without issue, a Parliament should immediately meet, and declare the successor to the Crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless before that period a settlement should be made in Parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English councils: by another clause, they were empowered to arm and train the subjects, so as to put them in a posture of defence. The Scottish Parliament, having, by a laudable exertion of spirit, obtained this act of Security, granted the supply without further hesitation; but, not yet satisfied

tisfied with this sacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the House of Lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an address to the Queen, desiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be subjected to their examination in the next session. Meanwhile, the Commissioner, dreading the further progress of such an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the Parliament to the seventh day of October. The Act of Security being transmitted to England, copies of it were circulated by the enemies of Godolphin, who represented it as a measure of that minister; and the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. People openly declared, that the two kingdoms were now separated by law, so as never to be rejoined. Reports were spread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland, and that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of these transactions was imputed to Lord Godolphin, whom the Tories determined to attack, while the other party resolved to exert their whole influence for his preservation: yet, in all probability, he owed his immediate support to the success of his friend the Duke of Marlborough. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§. XIII. Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation to which the Emperor was reduced in the beginning of the season. The malcontents in Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success: the Elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube, as far as Passau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which must have been infallibly lost, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of Prince Eugene, the Emperor implored the assistance of her Britannick Majesty; and the Duke of Marlborough explained to her the necessity of undertaking his relief.

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This nobleman in the month of January had crossed the sea to Holland, and concerted a scheme with the deputies of the States-General for the operations of the ensuing campaign. They agreed, that General Auverquerque should lie upon the defensive with a small body of troops in the Netherlands: while the main army of the Allies should act upon the Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this consummate General concealed another plan, which was communicated to a few only, in whose discretion he could confide. It was approved by the Pensionary and some leading men, who secured its favourable reception with the States-General, when it became necessary to impart the secret to that numerous assembly. In the mean time, the preparations were made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moselle.

§ XIV. In the month of April, the Duke, accompanied by his brother General Churchill, Lieutenant-General Lumley, the Earl of Orkney, and other Officers of distinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the State, concerning a proposal of sending a large army towards the Moselle. The deputies of Zealand opposed this measure of sending their troops to such a distance so strenuously, that the Duke was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, he had received orders to march thither with the British forces. He accordingly assembled his army at Maestricht; and on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle. In this persuasion they sent a detachment to that river; and gave out that they intended to invest Huy, a pretence to which the Duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kalsecken: he visited the fortifications of Bonne, where he

he received certain advice, that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the Elector at Villengen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh; from thence he wrote a letter to the States-General, giving them to understand, that he had the Queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and expressing his hope that they would approve the design, and allow their troops to share the honour of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was visited by Prince Eugene; and these two great men, whose talents were congenial, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendship. Next day Prince Louis of Baden arrived in the Camp at Great Hippach. He told the Duke, his Grace was come to save the empire, and to give him an opportunity of vindicating his honour, which he knew was at the last stake in the opinion of some people. The Duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to serve the empire: that they must be ignorant indeed, who did not know that the Prince of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preserved the empire, and extended its conquests. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XV. Those three celebrated Generals agreed that the two armies should join: that the command should be alternately vested in the Duke and Prince Louis from day to day; and that Prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube: Prince Eugene set out for Philipsburgh; the Duke of Marlborough being joined by the Imperial army under Prince Louis of Baden, at Wastertellen, prosecuted his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthaussen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's entrenchments at Dillengen, and encamped with his right at Amerdighem, and his left

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left at Onderingen. Understanding that the Elector of Bavaria had detached the best part of his infantry to reinforce the Count D'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg near Donawert, he resolved to attack their entrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and passed the River Wermitz: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and even obliged to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the Imperialists, to another part of the lines, made a diversion in their favour. After an obstinate resistance they forced his intrenchments, and the horse entering with the infantry, fell so furiously upon the enemy, already disordered, that they were routed with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The Confederates took sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchased; some thousands of the Allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Goor and Beinheim, and Count Stirum was mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the Confederates took immediate possession, while the Elector passed the Danube in his march to the river Leche, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. The Confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Leche, and take post in the country of the Elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augsburgh. The garrison of Neuburgh retiring to Ingoldstadt, the place was secured by the Confederates; and the Count de Frize was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rain.

Rain. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene, that the Mareschals Villeroy and Tallard had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thousand men, to succour the Elector of Bavaria, the Generals of the Allies immediately detached Prince Maximilian of Hanover with thirty squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to the Prince. In a few days Rain surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The Emperor no sooner received a confirmation of the victory of Shellenburgh, than he wrote a letter of acknowledgment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratislau to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of Prince of the Empire, which the Duke declined accepting, until the Queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XVI. The Allies advanced within a league of Augsburgh, and though they found the Elector of Bavaria too securely posted under the cannon of that city to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success, they encamped with Friedburgh in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The Duke of Marlborough having reduced him to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the Imperialists in Italy. His subjects, seeing themselves at the mercy of the Allies, pressed him to comply with these offers, rather than expose his country to ruin and desolation. A negociation was begun, and he seemed ready to sign the articles, when hearing that Mareschal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, to join him with a great body of forces, he declared, that since the King of France had made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to continue firm in the alliance. The Generals of the Allies were so exasperated at this disappointment, that they sent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria, as far as Munich: upwards

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wards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles, were inhumanly destroyed, to the indelible disgrace of those who countenanced and conducted such barbarous practices. The Elector, shocked at these brutal proceedings, desired in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, that a stop might be put to acts of violence so opposite to true glory. The answer he received implied, that it was in his own power to put an end to them by a speedy accommodation. Incensed at this reply, he declared, that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he would throw away the scabbard. The Duke and Prince Louis, finding it impracticable to attack the Elector in his strong camp, resolved to undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, and for that purpose passed the Paer near the town of Schrobbenhausen, where they encamped, with their left at Closterburgh. On the fifth day of August the Elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by Tallard. He resolved to pass the Danube at Lawingen, to attack Prince Eugene, who had followed the French army from the lines of Bichi, and lay encamped at Hochstadt. Next day, however, he made a motion that disappointed the enemy. Nevertheless, they persisted in their design of passing the Danube, and encamping at Blenheim. The Allies resolved that Prince Louis should undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, whilst Prince Eugene and the Duke should observe the Elector of Bavaria. Advice being received that he had actually crossed the Danube at Lawingen, the Duke of Marlborough joined the forces of Prince Eugene at the camp of Munster on the eleventh day of August, Prince Louis having by this time marched off towards the place he intended to besiege. Next day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene observed the posture of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzengen,

zongen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. CHAP. VIII.

§ XVII. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provision should be consumed. They were moreover stimulated to this hazardous enterprize, by an intercepted letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Mareschal Villeroy, giving him to understand, that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercepted all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about sixty thousand men. Mareschal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve squadrons, in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the Allies would make their chief effort: their left was conducted by the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin, a French General of experience and capacity. The number of the Confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty: their right was under the direction of Prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians under Major-General Wilkes, who having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Meanwhile the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length however, they were charged by the French horse with 1704.

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with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet: but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broke in their turn, and driven to the very edges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the Confederates being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The Duke, perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless, the line was a little disordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces; but the Confederates advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horse; and their battalions being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an Aide-du-camp to Marsin who was with the Elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the Confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry being vigorously attacked in flank were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded,

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was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the Marquis de Montperouz, General of horse, the Major-Generals de Sepptville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marsin's quarters at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the Prince of Holstein-beck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted resolution: but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length the Duke of Marlborough in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and compelled the enemy to retire. By this time Prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The Duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to reinforce the Prince, when he understood from an Aide-du-Camp, that his Highness had no occasion for assistance; and that the Elector, with Monsieur de Marsin, had abandoned Oberklau and Luttingen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morselingen and Teissenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The Confederates being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and, despairing of being able to force their way through the Allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and

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and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be rifled. This was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle; the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube: thirteen thousand were made prisoners; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thousand six hundred tents, four-and-thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the Allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by Mareschal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the Confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mind and deliberation which were so peculiar to his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that General, he was sorry such a misfortune should happen personally to one for whom he had a profound esteem. The Mareschal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the Duke replied, That he thought his own the best troops in the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the Mareschal had bestowed such an encomium.

§ XVIII. The victorious Generals having by this decisive stroke saved the House of Austria from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the

the empire; signified their opinion to Prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt, which would surrender of course. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburg, who quitted that place on the sixteenth day of August. The magistrates sent a deputation craving the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The Duke having sent Mareschal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Franckfort, and disposed of the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Schillingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the Princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed that, as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine, the confederate army should take the same route, excepting three-and-twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under General Thungen. They began their march on the twenty-sixth day of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruschal, near Philipsburgh. Then they resolved, that Prince Louis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitick than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the Prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the Duke of Marlborough had acquired, and such a bigotted Papist, that he repined at the success of an heretical General. On the twelfth day of September he marched towards Landau with the troops destined for the siege, and the Duke of Marlborough,

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borough, with Prince Eugene, encamped at Croon Weissenburgh, to cover the enterprize. By this time Ulm had surrendered to Thungen even before the trenches were opened. Villeroy advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the Confederates; but retired without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valour till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counterscarp, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The King of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the Count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

§ XIX. The next enterprize which the Confederates undertook, was the siege of Traerbach. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel being entrusted with the direction of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November. Though it was strongly fortified, and well defended, he carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negociated for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the Court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the States-General on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually Stadtholder. He had received a second letter from the Emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared Prince of the Empire. In December he

embarked for England, where he found the people in a transport of joy, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XX. In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by Baron Spaar, with nine thousand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon the French lines, which were actually penetrated by Auverquerque, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The Elector of Bavaria, who had retired to Brussels after his defeat, formed a scheme for surprizing the Dutch General at the end of the campaign, and assembled all his troops at Tirlemont: but the French Court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Villeroy to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair prospect of advantage. The Mareschal, finding him determined to give battle at all events, represented the improbability of succeeding against an enemy so advantageously posted; and the ill consequences of a repulse: but, finding the Elector deaf to all his remonstrances, he flatly refused to march, and produced the King's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the French met with no opposition. The Duke of Savoy, being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive. He saw the Duke de Vendome reduce Vercelli and Ivrea, and undertake the siege of Verac: while he posted his little army on the other side of the Po, at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh troops and provision. The place held out five months, against all the efforts of the French General: at length, the communication being cut off, the Duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity; and told the English minister, that though he was abandoned by the Allies, he would never abandon himself. The Emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more

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more vigour against Ragotski and the Hungarian malcontents, over whom he obtained several advantages; notwithstanding which they continued formidable, from their number, bravery, and resolution. The ministers of the Allies pressed Leopold to enter into a negociation for a peace with those rebels; and conferences were opened: but he was not sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and Ragotski aimed at the principality of Transylvania, which the Court of Vienna would not easily relinquish. The Emperor was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new Sultan dispatched a Chiaus to Vienna, with an assurance that he would give no assistance to the malcontents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the Cardinal-Primate, Stanislaus Lezinski, Palatine of Posnania, was elected and proclaimed King, and recognized by Charles of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, more intent upon the ruin of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions; for he paid no regard to the progress of the Muscovites, who had ravaged Livonia, reduced Narva, and made incursions into Sweden. Augustus retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoverished, in order to raise a great army, with which he might return to Poland; the Pope espoused the interest of this new convert, so far as to cite the Cardinal Primate to appear at Rome, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The Protestants of the Convennois, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Louis was obliged to treat them with lenity: he sent Mareschal Villars against them with a fresh reinforcement; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negociation with Cavalier, the chief of the revolters; and a formal treaty was concluded, by which they were

indulged with liberty of conscience: but these articles were very ill observed by the French ministry. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXI. In Portugal, the interest of King Charles wore a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portuguese ministry favoured the French in secret; the people were averse to hereticks; the Duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch General: the Portuguese forces consisted of raw undisciplined peasants: and the French Ambassador had bought up the best horses in the kingdom; so that the troopers could not be properly mounted. The King of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May: but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santaren. By this time they had published their respective manifestoes; Charles displaying his title to the crown of Spain, and promising pardon to all his subjects who would in three months join his army; and the King of Portugal declaring, that his sole aim in taking up arms was to restore the liberty of the Spanish nation, oppressed by the power of France, as well as to assert the right of Charles to that monarchy. The present possessor, whom they mentioned by the name of the Duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invasion. His General, the Duke of Berwick, entering Portugal, took the town of Segura by stratagem. The Governor of Salva-terra surrendered at discretion: Cebreros was reduced without much opposition: Zebredo was abandoned by the inhabitants; and the town of Lhana la Viella was taken by assault. Portugal was at the same time invaded in different parts by the Marquis de Jeoffrevile, Prince Tserclaes de Tilly, and the Marquis de Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions were attacked and taken by the Duke of Berwick at Sodreira Formosa. Then he passed the Tagus, and joined Prince Tserclaes. King Philip

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arriving in the army, invested Portalegre; and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot commanded by Colonel Stanhope, were made prisoners of war. The next place he besieged was Castle Davide, which met with the same fate. On the other hand, the Marquis Das Minas, in order to make a diversion, entered Spain with fifteen thousand men, took Feuente Grimaldo, in Castile, by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. The weather growing excessively hot, Philip sent his troops into quarters of refreshment: and the Allies followed his example. Duke Schomberg finding his advice very little regarded by the Portuguese ministry, and seeing very little prospect of success, desired leave to resign his command, which the Queen bestowed upon the Earl of Galway, who, with a reinforcement of English and Dutch troops, arrived at Lisbon on the thirtieth day of July. About the latter end of September, the two Kings repaired to the camp near Almeda, resolving to invade Castile: but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a passage. They, therefore, retired into the territories of Portugal, and the army was put into winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now so weakened, by detachments sent with the Marquis de Villadarias towards Gibraltar, that the Duke of Berwick could not execute any scheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

§ XXII. The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Rooke having landed King Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartell, under the command of Rear Admiral Dilkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz. Rooke received orders from

from the Queen to sail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a siege by the Duke de Vendome: at the same time he was pressed by King Charles to execute a scheme upon Barcelona, projected by the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who declared his opinion, that the Catalonians would declare for the House of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, and judging it was destined to act in the Mediterranean, sent out Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a considerable fleet, to watch the motions of the Brest squadron; and he was provided with instructions how to act, in case it should be sailed to the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Sir George Rooke, in compliance with the entreaties of King Charles, sailed with the transports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day, the troops were landed by the Prince of Hesse, to the number of two thousand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place: but by this time the Governor had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party; and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to King Charles, the Prince re-embarked his soldiers, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers. On the sixteenth day of June Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the seventeenth day of July the Admiral called a council of war in the Road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed, and on the twenty-first day of the month the Prince of

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Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the Admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, he commanded Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by Captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the Governor capitulated; and the Prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

§ XXIII. A sufficient garrison being left with his Highness, the Admiral returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the ninth day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ships and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the Count de Tholouse, High-Admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great

great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days the English Admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the Count de Thoulouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased: yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French King, in order to raise the drooping spirits of his people, claimed the victory, and published an account of the action, which, at this distance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean shift of imposing upon his subjects, by false and partial representations. Among other exaggerations in this detail, we find mention made of mischief done to French ships by English bombs; though nothing is more certain than that there was not one bomb vessel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a servile spirit of adulation, caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, which instead of perpetuating the glory of their Prince, served only to transmit their own shame to posterity. After the battle, Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the twenty-fourth day of August. He arrived

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in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success: but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and detraction. Philip, King of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the Marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the Prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until Monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron, but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and Admiral Vanderdussen; and the Marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

§ XXIV. The Parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the Queen, in her speech, observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the publick welfare. Congratulatory addresses were voted and presented by both Houses. They were equal in their professions of duty and affection to the Queen; but the addresses imbibed a very different colour from the different sanctions by which the two Houses were influenced. The Lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of

her

her arms under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the Commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. Having taken into consideration the services of the army and navy, they voted that the Queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. Then they deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and granted four millions, six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds for the occasions of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land-tax, by the sale of annuities, and other expedients. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land-tax received the Royal assent on the ninth day of December: when the Queen, in a short speech, thanked the Commons for their despatch, which she considered a sure pledge of their affection. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXV. The High-church party took this occasion to promote the bill against occasional conformity, which was revived and brought into the House on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who moved that it might be tacked to the land-tax bill, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The Court no longer espoused this measure, and the violent party was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the tack was rejected by a great majority. The bill, however, passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the Queen been present, and desirous of hearing what could be said

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said on both sides of the question. For the information and satisfaction of her Majesty the subject was again discussed, and all the arguments being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one-and-twenty voices. The next subject on which the House of Lords employed their attention, was the late conduct of the Scottish Parliament. The Lord Haversham in a set speech, observed, that the settlement of the succession in Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a received opinion that the succession was never sincerely and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet council. He expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he stiled a bill of exclusion; and particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and boroughs were ordained to exercise their fencible men every month. He said the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally discontented; that the common people were very numerous, very stout, and very poor; and he asked who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed, and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, could opportunities suit their intention. He recommended these circumstances to the consideration of the House, and concluded with these words of Lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter "of troubles to be prepared; for no man can forbid "the sparks that may set all on fire." The Lords resolved to consider these subjects on the twenty-ninth day of November, when the Queen repaired to the House of Peers to hear the debates, and by her presence moderate the heat of both parties. The Earl of Nottingham reflected so severely on the memory of King William, that he would have been sent to the Tower, had not the Lords declined any such motion out of respect to her Majesty. After much

much declamation on the Scottish act of security, the grand committee of the Peers, by the advice of Lord Wharton, resolved, That the Queen should be enabled by act of Parliament on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an union with Scotland, provided that the parliament of Scotland should first appoint commissioners on their part for the same purpose: That no Scotsmen should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, except such as were settled in England, Ireland, and the Plantations, and such as were or might be in the sea, or land-service, until an union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: That the traffick by cattle from Scotland to England should be prevented: That the Lord Admiral should issue orders for taking such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her Majesty's enemies; and that care should be taken to prevent the exportation of English wool into Scotland. On these resolutions a bill was formed for an entire union, and passed the house on the twentieth day of December. The Lords presented an address to the Queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of Parliament lately passed in Scotland: That they were of opinion the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, to secure the port of Tinmouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her Majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for putting the laws in execution against Papists. The Queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the

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Parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The Commons seemed to concur with the Lords in their sentiments of the Scottish act of security. They resolved, that a bill should be brought in for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might arise from several acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland: and this was formed on nearly the same resolutions which had been taken in the Upper House. The bill sent down by the Lords, was thrice read, and ordered to lie upon the table: but they passed their own, to take effect at Christmas, provided before that time the Scots should not settle the succession. When it was offered to the Lords, they passed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation and even to the hope of some members who were no friends to the House of Hanover, and firmly believed the Lords would have treated this bill with the same contempt which had been manifested for that which they had sent down to the Commons.

§ XXVI. The Duke of Marlborough at his first appearance in the House after his return to England, was honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the Lord-Keeper, in the name of the Peers of England: and a compliment of the same nature was presented to him by a committee of the House of Commons. Doctor Delaune, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the University, attended the Queen with an address of congratulation upon the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough; and at sea, under the most brave and faithful Admiral Sir George Rooke. He received a civil answer from her Majesty, though now she took umbrage at Rooke's being raised upon a level with the Duke of Marlborough, whose great victories had captivated her administration, and whose wife had alienated her affection

affection from the Tories. The Commons perceiving how high he stood in her Majesty's esteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpose, took into consideration the great services of the Duke; and, in an address, besought her Majesty to consider some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days she gave them to understand by a message, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the Crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wooton to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangership of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, she wished that incumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the Queen to bestow these honours and manors on the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the Queen was desired to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the Comptroller of her Works to build in Woodstock park, a magnificent palace for the Duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time Sir George Rooke was laid aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, now declared Rear-Admiral of England. Mareschal de Tallard, with the other French Generals taken at Hochstadt, arrived on the sixteenth of December in the River Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Lichfield, attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

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§ XXVII. While the House of Commons, in two successive addresses thanked the Queen for the treaty which the Duke of Marlborough had concluded with Prussia, concerning the troops to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, and desired she would use her interest

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terest with the Allies, that they might next year furnish their complete proportions of men by sea and land; the Lords examined into all the proceedings at sea, and all the instructions of the Admiralty; and presented an address to the Queen, explaining all the different articles of mismanagement. She promised to consider them particularly, and give such directions upon them as might be most for the advantage of the publick service. The remaining part of the session was consumed in disputes and altercations between the two Houses on the subject of the Aylesbury constables, who were sued by five other inhabitants for having denied them the right of voting at the election. These five persons were committed to Newgate by order of the House of Commons. They moved for a Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench; but the Court would take no cognizance of the affair. Two of the prisoners petitioned the Queen that their case might be brought before her Majesty in Parliament. The Commons, in an address, besought the Queen to refuse granting a Writ of Error in this case, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England. She assured them she would not do any thing to give them just cause of complaint; but this matter relating to the course of judicial proceedings, being of the highest importance, she thought it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern. They voted all the lawyers who had pleaded on the return of the Habeas Corpus in behalf of the prisoners guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered them to be taken into custody. They likewise ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their Serjeant at arms, lest they should have been discharged by the Queen's granting writs of error. The prisoners, finding themselves at the mercy of the exasperated Commons, petitioned the Lords for relief.

lief. The Upper House passed six different resolutions against the conduct of the Commons, as being an obstruction to justice, and contrary to Magna Charta. The Lower House demanded a conference, in which they insisted upon the sole right of determining elections; they affirmed, that they only could judge who had a right of voting; and that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the Lords could not intermeddle. CHAP. VIII. 1704.

§ XXVIII. The Upper House demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New resolutions were taken by the Commons, diametrically opposite to those of the Peers, who, on the other hand, attended the Queen with a long representation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed that the proceedings of the House of Commons against the Aylesbury men were wholly new and unprecedented; that it was the birthright of every Englishman, who apprehended himself injured, to seek for redress in her Majesty's Courts of Justice: that if any power could controul this right, and prescribe when he should, and when he should not, be allowed the benefit of the laws, he ceased to be a freeman, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requested, therefore, that no consideration whatever should prevail with her Majesty to suffer an obstruction to the known course of justice: but that she should be pleased to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of the Writs of Error. The Queen assured them that she would have complied with their request; but, finding an absolute necessity for putting an immediate end to the session, she knew there could be no further proceedings on that matter. On the very day, which was the fourteenth of March, she went to the house of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the Royal assent. Then she thanked the parliament for having dispatched the publick business: she warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and

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and ordered the Lord Keeper to prorogue them to Thursday the 1st of May; but on the fifth of April they were dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new Parliament. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, made an excursion to Newmarket, and afterwards dined by invitation with the University of Cambridge, where she conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis the Vice-chancellor, upon James Montague counsel for the University, and upon the celebrated Isaac Newton mathematical professor. The two Houses of Convocation still continued at variance. The Lower House penned petulant representations; and the Archbishop answered them by verbal reprehension and admonition. The Tory interest was now in the wane. The Duke of Buckinghamshire was deprived of the Privy seal, and that office conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of powerful influence with the Whig party. The Earl of Montague was created Marquis of Mounthermer and Duke of Montague; the Earl of Peterborough and Lord Cholmondeley were chosen of the Privy-council; and Lord Cutts was sent to command the troops in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond.

1704. Burnet. Hist. of Europe. Tindall. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough. Lockhart. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Quincy. Feuquieres. Voltaire.

§ XXIX. The ministry of Scotland was now entirely changed. The Marquis of Tweedale and Johnstone, having been found unequal to the undertaking, were dismissed. The Duke of Queensberry resumed the management of affairs in that kingdom under the title of Lord Privy-seal; and the office of Commissioner was conferred upon the young Duke of Argyle, who succeeded to his father's influence among the Presbyterians. He was a nobleman possessed of good natural talents, which had not been neglected; candid, open, and sincere; brave, passionate, and aspiring: had he been endued with a greater share of liberality, his character would have been truly heroick. At this juncture he was instructed

structed to procure an act of the Scottish Parliament, settling the Protestant succession: or to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. At the opening of the session in June, the members were divided into three parties; namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutioners, the Squadrone Volante, or Flying Squadron, headed by the Marquis of Tweedale, who disclaimed the other two factions, and pretended to act from the dictates of conscience alone. The Parliament was adjourned to the third day of July, when her Majesty's letter was read, earnestly recommending the settlement of the succession in the Protestant line, and an act for a commission to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. The Marquis of Annandale proposed that the Parliament should proceed on the limitations and conditions of government; that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The Earl of Mar moved, that the House would, preferable to all other business, consider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate they resolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for supplying the nation with money by a paper-credit were presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law; but rejected. The House resolved, That any kind of paper-credit, by the circulation of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The Duke of Hamilton proposed that the Parliament should not proceed to the nomination of a successor, until the treaty with England should be discussed, and the limitations settled. This proposal being approved, a draft of an answer to her Majesty's letter was presented by the Marquis of Tweedale. Two different forms of an act for a treaty with England were offered by the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Lothian: others were produced concerning

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1704. § XXX. The chief aim of the Cavaliers was to obstruct the settlement of the succession; and with that view they pressed the project of limitations, to which they knew the Court would never assent. A motion being made, to grant the first reading to an act of commission for a treaty with England, the Duke of Hamilton insisted on the limitations, and a vote being stated in these terms, "Proceed to consider the act for a treaty of limitation," the latter was carried in favour of the Cavaliers. On the twenty-second day of August an act for this purpose was approved: and next day an act for a triennial Parliament, which the courtiers were enabled to defeat: They likewise passed an act, ordaining, That the Scottish ambassadors representing Scotland, should be present when the Sovereign might have occasion to treat with foreign Princes and States, and be accountable to the Parliament of Scotland. Fletcher, of Saltoun, presented a scheme of limitations that savoured strongly of Republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove that they were absolutely necessary to prevent the consequences of English influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties: to deter Ministers of State from giving bad advice to their Sovereign; to preserve the Courts of Judicature from corruption, and screen the people from tyranny and oppression. The Earl of Stair having argued against these limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he opposed the scheme; for, "had such an act subsisted, his Lordship would have "been hanged for the bad counsel he had given to "King James; for the concern he had in the massacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct since the "Revolution." The next subject on which the Parliament deliberated was the conspiracy. A motion being made that the House might know what answer

answer the Queen had returned to their address in the last session, the Chancellor delivered to the Clerk-Register the papers relating to the plot, that they might be perused by the members: but these being copies, and the evidences remaining at London, no further progress was made in the affair. Yet the Duke of Athol in a distinct narrative of the pretended conspiracy, boldly accused the Duke of Queensberry of having endeavoured to mislead the Queen by false insinuations against her good subjects. When the act for a treaty of union fell under consideration, a draft for that purpose, presented by the Earl of Mar, was compared with the English act, importing, That the Queen should name and appoint not only the Commissioners for England, but likewise those for Scotland. Fletcher did not fail to inveigh against the imperious conduct of the English Parliament in this affair. He exhorted the House to resent such treatment, and offered the draft of an address to her Majesty on the subject; but this the House rejected. Duke Hamilton proposed that a clause might be added to the act, importing, That the union should no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottish nation. This occasioned a long debate; and the question being put, was carried in the negative. Another clause was proposed, that the Scottish Commisioners should not begin to treat until the English Parliament should have rescinded their clause, enacting, That the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged and taken as aliens after the twenty-fifth day of December. The Courtiers, considering the temper of the House, would not venture to oppose this motion directly, but proposed that the clause should be formed into a separate act; and the expedient was approved. Though the Duke of Athol entered a vigorous protest, to which the greater part of the Cavaliers and all the Squadrone adhered, compre-

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hending four-and-twenty Peers, seven-and-thirty Barons, and eighteen Boroughs, the act for the treaty of union was, after much altercation, finished, empowering Commissioners to meet and treat of an union; but restraining them from treating of any alterations of the Church-government as by law established. Whilst this important subject was under consideration, the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the Commissioners should be left to the Queen. Fourteen or fifteen of the Cavaliers ran out of the House in a transport of indignation, exclaiming that they were deserted and basely betrayed by the Duke of Hamilton. A very hot debate ensued, in the course of which the Duke was severely handled by those whom he had hitherto conducted; but, at length, the question being put, Whether the nomination should be left to the Queen or to the Parliament, the Duke's motion was approved by a very small majority. He afterwards excused himself for his defection, by saying, he saw it was in vain to contend; and that since the Court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed to pay that compliment to his Sovereign. He was desirous of being in the commission, and the Duke of Argyle promised he should be nominated. The Queen refusing to honour him with that mark of distinction, Argyle would not suffer himself to be named, and threatened to oppose the union: but means were found to appease his resentment. Two drafts of an address being presented by the Earl of Sutherland and Fletcher of Saltoun, beseeching her Majesty to use her endeavours with the Parliament of England to rescind that part of their Act which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens; and an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining that the Scottish Commissioners should not enter upon the treaty of union until that clause should be repealed; the Courtiers moved, that the Parliament should

proceed

proceed by way of order to their commissioners, and by address to her Majesty. After some debate, the House assenting to this proposal, the order and address were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily transacted, though not without a protest by Athol and his adherents, the Parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds, and the House was adjourned to the twentieth day of December: then the Queen declaring the Earl of Mar Secretary of State in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, who was appointed Lord-President of the Council. CHAP. VIII. 1705.

§ XXXI. In Ireland the Parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the Commons and the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. The Lower House of Convocation presented a memorial against this clause as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The Commons voted the person who brought it in guilty of a breach of privilege: and ordered him to be taken into custody. Then they resolved, That the Convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of the privilege of that House. The Convocation presuming to justify their memorial, the Commons voted, that all matters relating to it should be razed out of the journals and books of Convocation. The Duke of Ormond, dreading the consequences of such heats, adjourned the Parliament to the first day of May, when the Houses meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the Convocation, as enemies to her Majesty's government and the Protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn,

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That the Church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William at the Revolution: That the continuance of these blessings were due (under God) to the auspicious reign and happy government of her Majesty Queen Anne: That the future security and preservation of the Church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the Crown as settled by law in the Protestant line: That if any Clergyman should by word or writing declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the Protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They levelled another resolution against the Presbyterians, importing, That to teach or to preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the Church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to those of the established Church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom; of pernicious consequence; and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation. In June the Parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year: then the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, Lord-chancellor, and Lord Cutts, the commander in chief of the Queen's forces, who were appointed Lords-Justices during the Duke's absence.

§ XXXII. During these transactions in Great-Britain and Ireland, the Allies had not been remiss in their preparations for the ensuing campaign. The Duke of Marlborough had fixed upon the Moselle for the scene of action; and magazines of all sorts were formed at Triers. On the thirteenth day of March the Duke embarked for Holland, where he prevailed upon the States-General to contribute their troops for the execution of his project. Having concerted with the deputies of the States and the Dutch

Dutch Generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out for Maestricht, in order to assemble his army. On the fifth day of May the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the Imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph, King of the Romans, a Prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the Romish religion. On the fifteenth of June the English troops passed the Maese, and continued their march towards the Moselle, under the command of General Churchill; and the Duke set out for Cruetznach, to confer with Prince Louis of Baden, who excused himself on pretence of being much indisposed. Marlborough visited him at Rastadt, where in a conference they resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for the security of the lines of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of General Thungen, and that Prince Louis of Baden should march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the Duke of Marlborough. The confederate army passed the Moselle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Coningsmarcheren. The Duke's design was to besiege Saar-Louis; but Prince Louis failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himself sick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangenbade, leaving the small number of Imperial troops he conducted as far as Cruetznach, under the command of the Count de Frize. He was suspected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the Duke's military reputation*.

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* The Duke of Marlborough finding himself obliged to retreat, sent a note with a trumpeter to Villars, containing an apology for decamping. —"Do me the justice (said he) to believe that my retreat is entirely "owing to the failure of the Prince of Baden; but that my esteem for "you is still greater than my resentment of his conduct."

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§ XXXIII. While this nobleman sustained such a mortifying disappointment on the Moselle, the French did not fail to make advantage of their superiority in the Netherlands, where General D'Auverquerque was obliged to stand on the defensive. They invested Huy, and carried on their operations so vigorously, that in a few days the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: then Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough was no sooner informed of the enemy's progress than he marched to Triers, where, in a council, it was resolved that the army should return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with such expedition, that they passed the Maese on the first day of July. Villeroy having received advice of the Duke's approach, abandoned his enterprize, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines, that reached from Marche aux Dames on the Meuse, along the Mehaigne as far as Lenuive. Marlborough having joined D'Auverquerque, sent General Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy, and in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. The English General, resolving to strike some stroke of importance that should atone for his disappointment on the Moselle, sent General Hompesch to the States, with a proposal for attacking the French lines, and obtained their permission to do whatever he should think proper for the good of the common cause. Then he explained the scheme in two successive councils of war, by which, at length, it was approved and resolved upon, though some Dutch Generals declared themselves against the undertaking. The enemy were posted along the lines, amounting to one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The allied army did not much exceed that number. In order to divide them, D'Auverquerque

querque made a false motion and passed the Mehaigne, as if he had intended to attack the lines about Masselin. The stratagem succeeded. The French weakened the other parts by strengthening that which was on the side of the Gerbise towards Namur. The Duke of Marlborough having made the disposition, the army began to march in the night between the seventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force a passage of the French lines at Heylesem, the castle of Wauge, and the villages of Wauge, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with very little difficulty; but before the infantry could come up, the enemy advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon with triple barrels, which did considerable execution. The Duke perceiving that they were continually reinforced from the other parts of the lines, ordered the horse to charge their cavalry, which were soon broken and routed; but rallying, behind their infantry, interlined with foot, and joined by fresh squadrons, they advanced again towards the Allies, who were now sustained by their infantry, and moved forwards to renew the charge. After a warm though short engagement, the enemy's horse were defeated with great slaughter. The infantry, seeing themselves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great disorder, between the villages of Heylesem and Golsteven, where they were joined by the rest of their army, and formed again in order of battle. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough ordered all his troops to enter the lines: and extended his right towards the great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which surrendered at discretion. In this action the Confederates took the Marquis D'Alegre and the Count de Horne, Lieutenant-generals, one Major-general, two Brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers; a large heap

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heap of standards, four colours, one pair of kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the action, as the Duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him sword in hand; but in raising himself on his stirrups to strike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain.

§ XXXIV. The body of troops commanded by Monsieur D'Alegre being thus defeated with little or no loss to the Confederates, the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroy passed the great Geete and the Deule, with great expedition, and took possession of the strong camp at Parck, their left extending to Rooselaer, and their right to Wineselen against the height of Louvain. Next day the Duke of Marlborough marching through the plain of Parck, took twelve hundred prisoners, who could not keep pace with the rest of the enemy's forces; and in the evening he encamped with the right at the abbey of Vliersbeck, and the left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He detached Lieutenant-General Henkelum, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Count Oxienstiern, with a considerable body of forces, to attack some posts on the Deule, which were slenderly guarded. Their advanced guard accordingly passed the river, and repulsed the enemy; but for want of timely support, they were obliged to pass it and retire. On the third of August Baron Spaar, with a body of Dutch troops, marched to Raboth on the canal of Bruges, forced the French lines at Lovendegen, and took four forts by which they were defended; but receiving advice that the enemy were on their march towards him, he retired to Mildegem, and carried with him several hostages, as security for the payment of the contributions he had raised. On the fifteenth the Duke moved from Mildert to Corbais; next day continued his march to Genap,

from

from whence he advanced to Fischermont. On the seventeenth General D'Auverquerque took the post of Waterlo; and next day the confederate army was drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overysche, near the wood of Soignies, to Neerysche, with the little river Ysche in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The Duke of Marlborough proposed to attack them immediately, before they could recollect themselves from their consternation: and D'Auverquerque approved of the design; but it was opposed by general Schlangenburg, and other Dutch Officers, who represented it in such a light to the deputies of the States, that they refused to concur in the execution. The Duke being obliged to relinquish the scheme, wrote an expostulatory letter to the States-General, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had reposed in him while he acted in Germany. This letter being published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people, and the English nation were incensed at the presumption of the Deputies, who wrote several letters in their own justification to the States-General: but these had no effect upon the populace, by whom the Duke was respected even to a degree of adoration. The States being apprised of the resentment that prevailed over all England, and that the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-president of the council, was appointed as Envoy-Extraordinary to Holland, with instructions to demand satisfaction, thought proper to anticipate his journey, by making submissions to the Duke, and removing Schlangenburg from his command. The confederate army returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped. The little town of Sout-Leeuwe, situated in the middle of a morass, and constituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, the Duke ordered

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the lines from this place to Wasseigne to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be dismantled; then passing the Demer, he encamped on the nineteenth day of September at Aerschot. About the latter end of the month he marched to Heventhals; from hence the Duke repaired to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the Pensionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which, decamping from Heventhals, marched to Clampthout. On the twenty-fourth day of October, the Count de Noyelles invested Santvliet, which surrendered before the end of the month.

§ XXXV. At this period the Duke, in consequence of pressing letters from the Emperor, set out for Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign, and other measures of importance, in which the concerns of the Allies were interested. In his way he was magnificently entertained by the Elector Palatine, and him of Triers, and complimented by the magistracy of Frankfort, where he conferred with Prince Louis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship by their Imperial Majesties. His son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as Envoy-Extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the Emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed, and provision made for the security of the Duke of Savoy. The Emperor, in consideration of the Duke's signal service to the House of Austria, presented him with a grant of the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman Empire. In his return with the Earl of Sunderland he visited the Courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary respect which was due to his character, and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December.

cember. There he settled the operations of the next campaign with the States-General, who consented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men, as a reinforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy. While the Allies were engaged in the siege of Santvliet, the Elector of Bavaria sent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcello de Grimaldi, to invest Diest, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war. CHAP. VIII. 1705.

§ XXXVI. On the Upper Rhine Mareschal Villars besieged and took Homburgh, and passed the Rhine at Strasburgh on the sixth day of August. Prince Louis of Baden arriving in the camp of the Imperialists at Stolhoffen, not only obliged him to retire, but having passed the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau: then he reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprize equal to the number of his army, although the Emperor had expostulated with him severely on his conduct, and he had now a fair opportunity of emulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Casano, between Prince Eugene and the Duke de Vendome, with dubious success. The Duke de Feuillade reduced Chivas, and invested Nice, which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December. All the considerable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy were now taken, except Coni and Turin; and his little army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly support. His Duchess, his clergy, and his subjects in general, pressed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs: but he adhered to the alliance with surprizing fortitude. He withstood the importunities of his Duchess, excluded all the bishops and clergy from his councils; and when he had occasion for a confessor, chose a priest occasionally, either from the Dominicans or Franciscans. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promising aspect. The

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Allies invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alentejo. Their army, under the command of the Conde das Galveas, undertook the siege of Valencia D'Alcantara in May, and took it by assault: Albuquerque surrendered upon articles: and then the troops were sent into quarters of refreshment. The Marquis de las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salva-terra, plundered and burned Sarca: but was obliged to retire to Panamacos at the approach of the enemy. Towards the end of September the Confederates being re-assembled, invested Badajox, by the advice of the Earl of Galway, who lost his right hand by a cannon-ball, and was obliged to be carried off; so that the conduct of the siege was left to General Fagel. He had made considerable progress towards the reduction of the place, when the Marquis de Thessé found means to throw in a powerful reinforcement; and then the Confederates abandoned the enterprize. The war continued to rage in Hungary with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a scene of misery and desolation. In Poland the old Cardinal Primate owned Stanislaus, but died before the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of Cujavia. In the beginning of the winter King Augustus had passed through Poland in disguise to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command in Lithuania; and the campaign was protracted through the whole winter-season, notwithstanding the severity of the weather in that northern climate. In the spring the Swedish General, Reinchild, obtained a complete victory over the Saxon army, which was either cut in pieces or taken, with their camp, baggage, and artillery: yet the war was not extinguished. The King of Sweden continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace, and was become

come as savage in his manners, as brutal in his revenge. CHAP. VIII.

§ XXXVII. At sea the arms of the Allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain being obstinately bent upon retaking Gibraltar, sent Mareschal de Thessé to renew the siege, while De Pointis was ordered to block up the place by sea with his squadron. These French officers carried on the siege with such activity, that the Prince of Hesse dispatched an express to Lisbon with a letter, desiring Sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. This Admiral having been reinforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and on the tenth day of March descried five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by De Pointis in person, to whom the English Admiral gave chase. One of them struck, after having made a very slight resistance; and the rest ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken shelter in the bay of Malaga; but now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The Mareschal de Thessé, in consequence of this disaster, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the greater part of his forces. While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruize in Soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together with twelve privateers, and seven vessels richly laden from the West-Indies. 1705.

§ XXXVIII. But the most eminent atchievement of this summer, was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land forces; and on the twentieth

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twentieth of June arrived at Lisbon; where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch Admiral, Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles, that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and his Majesty being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the Ranelagh; and the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the Earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the eleventh day of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, where the Earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful Sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men under the command of Major-General Ramos. On the twenty-second they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming; "Long live the King!" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the House of Austria, but overawed by a garrison of five thousand men under the

the Duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers de- CHAP. VIII.
voted to the interest of King Philip. Considering
the strength of such a garrison, and the small num- 1705.
ber of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place: yet this was proposed by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by King Charles, and approved by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The city was accordingly invested on one side; but as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the Earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a shell chancing to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the Governor and some of the best officers: an accident which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they surrendered without further resistance.

§ XXXIX. This great point being gained, the English General erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the Governor capitulated, and on the fourth day of October King Charles entered in triumph*. All the other places in Catalonia declared

* Voltaire, upon what authority we know not, tells us, that during the capitulation, the German and Catalonian troops found means to climb over the ramparts into the city, and began to commit the most barbarous excesses; the Viceroy complained to Peterborough that his soldiers had taken an unfair advantage of the treaty, and were actually employed in burning, plundering, murthering, and violating the inhabitants. The Earl replied, "They must then be the troops of the Prince of Hesse; allow me to enter the city with my English forces, I will save it from ruin; oblige the Germans to retire, and march back again to our present situation." The Viceroy trusted his honour, and forthwith admitted

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'clared for him, except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of England, containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, the warmest expressions of acknowledgment, and the highest encomiums on her subjects, particularly the Earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined that the King and the Earl should continue in Catalonia with the land-forces: that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should return to England: that five-and-twenty English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of Sir John Leake and the Dutch Rear-Admiral, Wassenaer; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Don Francisco de Velasco was transported to Malaga with about a thousand men of his garrison: the rest voluntarily engaged in the service of King Charles, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attached to the House of Austria, secured Tarragonia, Tortosa, Lerida, San-Matthero, Gironne, and other places. Dan Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprized, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcia, the Viceroy, and the Archbishop.

mitted the Earl with his troops. He soon drove out the Germans and Catalonians, after having obliged them to quit the plunder they had taken; and by accident he rescued the Duchess of Popoli from the hands of two brutal soldiers, and delivered her to her husband. Having thus appeased the tumult, and dispelled the horrors of the citizens, he returned to his former station, leaving the inhabitants of Barcelona amazed at such an instance of magnanimity and moderation in a people whom they had been taught to consider as the most savage barbarians.

These advantages, however, were not properly improved. The Court of Charles was divided into factions, and so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San-Mattheo, guarded by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of Nules, and purchasing horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thousand militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was surrendered to him by the Governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spanish General, he excited such jealousies by dint of artifices, not altogether justifiable even in war, that the Duke was more intent upon avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the Earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Litera, where the Chevalier D'Asfeld, with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked Colonel Wills at the head of a small detachment: but this last being supported by Lieutenant-General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulsed the enemy though three times his number, with the loss of four

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hundred men killed upon the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valour, keeping up their fire until the muzzles of their pieces met, and charging each other at the point of the bayonet. The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year, was the capture of the Baltick fleet homeward-bound with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron under the command of the Count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French King, he replied with a sigh, "Very well, I wish the ships were "safe again in any English port, provided the Count "de St. Paul could be restored to life." After the death of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

§ XL. The kingdom of England was now wholly engrossed by the election of members for the new Parliament. The Tories exerted themselves with great industry, and propagated the cry of the Church's being in danger; a cry in which the Jacobites joined with great fervour: but, notwithstanding all their efforts in words and writing, a majority of Whigs was returned; and now the Lord Godolphin, who had hitherto maintained a neutrality, thought proper openly to countenance that faction. By his interest co-operating with the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, Sir Nathan Wright was deprived of the great seal, which was committed to Mr. William Cowper, with the title of Lord-Keeper. This was a lawyer of good extraction, superior talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his profession. He was staunch to Whig principles, and for many years had been considered as one of their best speakers in the House of Commons. The new Parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth day of October, a violent contest arose about the choice of a speaker. Mr. Bromley was supported by the Tories, and the

Whigs proposed Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty-three voices. The Queen in her speech represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe: she commended the fortitude of the Duke of Savoy, which she said was without example: she told them her intention was to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland; she earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people: she observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even suggested in print, that the established Church was in danger: she affirmed that such people were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover designs which they durst not publickly own, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies: she declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the Church of England, as by law established: that she would inviolately maintain the toleration, that she would promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that might make them a happy and flourishing people. CHAP. VIII. 1705.

§ XLI. The majority in both Houses now professed the same principles, and were well disposed to support the Queen in all her designs. They first presented the usual addresses, in the warmest terms of duty and affection. Then the Commons drew up a second, assuring her they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of union to a happy conclusion. They desired that the proceedings of the last session of Parliament, relating to the union and succession, might be laid before the House. The Lords had solicited the same satisfaction: and her Majesty promised to comply with their request. The Lower House having heard and decided in some cases of controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the estimates

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for the service of the ensuing year, and granted the supplies without hesitation. In the House of Lords while the Queen was present, Lord Haversham, at the end of a long speech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, moved for an address to desire her Majesty would invite the presumptive heir to the Crown of England to come and reside in the kingdom. This motion was earnestly supported by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea. They said there was no method so effectual to secure the succession, as that of the successor's being upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his or her right against any pretender; and they observed, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in his pretensions. The proposal was vehemently opposed by the Whigs, who knew it was disagreeable to the Queen, whom they would not venture to disoblige. They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences, and observed, that the Princess Sophia had expressed a full satisfaction in the assurances of the Queen, who had promised to maintain her title. The question being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The design of the Tories in making this motion was, to bring the other party into disgrace either with the Queen or with the people. Their joining in the measure would have given umbrage to their Sovereign; and, by opposing it, they ran the risque of incurring the publick odium, as enemies to the Protestant succession: but the pretence of the Tories was so thin, the nation saw through it: and the sole effect the motion produced, was the Queen's resentment against the whole party. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, proposed, that provision might be made for maintaining the publick quiet in the interval between the Queen's decease, and the arrival of her successor;

successor: the motion was seconded by the Lord-Treasurer; and a bill brought in for the better security of her Majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England. By this act a regency was appointed of the seven persons that should possess the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor or Lord-Keeper, Lord-Treasurer, Lord-President, Lord-Privy-Seal, Lord-High-Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Their business was to proclaim the next successor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of persons named as Regents by the successor, in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-Keeper, and the Minister Residentiary of Hanover. It was enacted, That these joint Regencies should conduct the Administration: that the last Parliament, even though dissolved, should re-assemble, and continue sitting for six months after the decease of her Majesty. The bill met with a warm opposition from the Tories, and did not pass the Upper House without a protest. It was still further obstructed in the House of Commons even by some of the Whig party, who were given to understand that the Princess Sophia had expressed an inclination to reside in England. Exceptions were likewise taken to that clause in the bill, enacting, that the last Parliament should be re-assembled. They affirmed that this was inconsistent with part of the act by which the succession was at first settled; for, among other limitations, the Parliament had provided; that when the Crown should devolve to the House of Hanover, no man, who had either place or pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons. After tedious disputes and zealous altercations, they agreed that a certain number of offices should be specified as disqualifying places. This self-denying clause, and some other amendments, produced conferences between the two Houses, and

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and at length the bill passed by their mutual assent. Lord Haversham moved for an inquiry into the miscarriages of the last campaign, hoping to find some foundation for censure in the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough: but the proposal was rejected as invidious; and the two Houses presented an address to the Queen, desiring she would preserve a good correspondence among all the Confederates. They likewise concurred in repealing the act by which the Scots had been alienated, and all the northern counties alarmed with the apprehension of a rupture between the two nations. The Lord Shannon and Brigadier Stanhope arriving with an account of the expedition to Catalonia, the Queen communicated the good news in a speech to both Houses, expressing her hope that they would enable her to prosecute the advantages which her arms had acquired. The Commons were so well pleased with the tidings, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for her Majesty's proportion in the expence of prosecuting the successes already gained by King Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the House of Austria. On the fifteenth day of November, the Queen gave the Royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the Princess Sophia, and the issue of her body.

§ XLII. These measures being taken, the sixth day of December was appointed for inquiring into those dangers to which the Tories affirmed the Church was exposed; and the Queen attended in person, to hear the debates on this interesting subject. The Earl of Rochester compared the expressions in the Queen's speech at the beginning of the session to the law enacted in the reign of Charles II. denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should call the King a Papist: for which reason, he said, he always thought him of that persuasion. He affirmed that the Church's danger arose from the Act

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of security in Scotland, the absence of the successor to the Crown, and the practice of occasional conformity. He was answered by Lord Halifax, who, by way of recrimination, observed that King Charles II. was a Roman-catholick, at least his brother declared him a Papist after his death: that his brother and successor was a known Roman-catholick, yet the Church thought herself secure; and those patriots who stood up in its defence were discountenanced and punished: nay, when the successor ascended the throne, and the Church was apparently in the most imminent danger, by the High-commission Court, and otherwise, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who sat in that court, and entered deeply into the measures which were then pursued. Compton, Bishop of London, declared that the Church was in danger, from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. He complained, that sermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged. He alluded to a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor, by Mr. Hoadly, now Bishop of Winchester. Burnet of Sarum said, the Bishop of London was the last man who ought to complain of that sermon; for if the doctrine it contained was not good, he did not know what defence his Lordship could make for his appearing in arms at Nottingham. He affirmed the Church would be always subject to profaneness and irreligion, but that they were not now so flagrant as they usually had been: he said the society set up for reformation in London, and other cities, had contributed considerably to the suppression of vice: he was sure the corporation for propagating the Gospel had done a great deal towards instructing men in religion, by giving great numbers of books in practical divinity: by erecting libraries in country parishes: by sending many able divines to the foreign plantations, and founding schools to breed up children in the Christian

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tian knowledge; though to this expence very little had been contributed by those who appeared so wonderfully zealous for the Church. The Archbishop of York expressed his apprehension of danger from the increase of Dissenters; particularly from the many academies they had instituted; he moved, that the Judges might be consulted with respect to the laws that were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed. Lord Wharton moved, that the Judges might also be consulted about means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by Nonjurors; in one of which the sons of a noble Lord in that House had been educated. To this sarcasm the Archbishop replied, that his sons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a sober, virtuous man; but that when he refused the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his instructions. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully perused a pamphlet entitled "The Memorial," which was said to contain a demonstration that the Church was in danger; but all he could learn was, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, were out of place: that he remembered some of these noblemen sat in the High-commission Court, and then made no complaint of the Church's being in danger. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, complained of the heat and passion manifested by the gentlemen belonging to the Universities, and of the undutiful behaviour of the Clergy towards their Bishops. He was seconded by Hough of Lichfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior clergy calumniated their Bishops, as if they were in a plot to destroy the Church, and had compounded to be the last of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the invidious distinction implied in the terms "High Church," and "Low Church." The Duke of Leeds asserted, that the Church could not be safe, without an act against occasional conformity. Lord Somers recapitulated

pitulated all the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question: he declared his own opinion was, that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration: that for men to raise groundless jealousies at that juncture, could mean no less than an intention to embroil the people at home, and defeat the glorious designs of the Allies abroad. The debate being finished, the question was put, Whether the church of England was in danger, and carried in the negative by a great majority: then the House resolved, That the church of England as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III. of glorious memory; is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her Majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest or insinuate that the church is in danger, under her Majesty's administration, is an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom. Next day the Commons concurred in this determination, and joined the Lords in an address to the Queen, communicating this resolution, beseeching her to take effectual measures for making it publick; and also for punishing the authors and spreaders of the seditious and scandalous reports of the Church's being in danger. She accordingly issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two Houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a professed Papist, charged upon oath to be the printer and publisher of that libel.

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§ XLIII. After a short adjournment, a committee of the Lower House presented the thanks of the Commons to the Duke of Marlborough, for his great services performed to her Majesty and the Nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negociations with her Allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan

of

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of five hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty: the Queen was universally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war: the forces were well paid: the treasury was punctual: and though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper-currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the publick credit flourished both at home and abroad. All the funds being established, one in particular for two millions and a half by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent. and all the bills having received the Royal assent, the Queen went to the House of Peers on the nineteenth day of March, where, having thanked both Houses for the repeated instances of their affection which she had received, she prorogued the Parliament to the twenty-first day of May following*. The new Convocation, instead of imitating the union and harmony of the Parliament, revived the divisions by which the former had been distracted, and the two Houses seemed to act with more determined rancour against each other. The Upper House having drawn up a warm address of thanks to the Queen, for her affectionate care of the Church, the Lower House refused to concur; nor would they give any reason for their dissent. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the Archbishop. Then they agreed to divers resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the Upper House received by his Grace and their Lordships. In consequence of this dissension the address was dropped, and a stop put to all further communication between the two Houses. The

Burnet. Boyer. Lockhart. Quincy. Hist. of Europe. Feuquieres Tindal. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough.

* Among other Bills passed during this session, was an act for abridging and reforming some proceedings in the Common Law and in Chancery.

Dean

Dean of Peterborough protested against the irregularities of the Lower House. The Queen, in a letter to the Archbishop, signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of Presbyters to Bishops. She expressed her hope that he and his suffragans would act conformably to her resolution, in which case they might be assured of the continuance of her favour and protection: she required him to impart this declaration to the Bishops and Clergy, and to prorogue the Convocation to such time as should appear most convenient. When he communicated this letter to the Lower House, the members were not a little confounded; nevertheless, they would not comply with the prorogation, but continued to sit in defiance of her Majesty's pleasure. CHAP. VIII. 1705. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

§ XLIV. The eyes of Great-Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost consequence to the whole island: namely, the treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The Queen having appointed the Commissioners* An. 1706.

on

* The English Commissioners were, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; William Cowper, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; John Lord Archbishop of York; Sidney Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England; Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, President of the Council; John Duke of Newcastle, Keeper of the Privy Seal; William Duke of Devonshire, Steward of the Household; Charles Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse; Charles Duke of Bolton, Charles Earl of Sunderland, Evelyn Earl of Kingston, Charles Earl of Carlisle, Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Viscount Townshend, Thomas Lord Wharton, Ralph Lord Grey, John Lord Powlet, John Lord Somers, Charles Lord Halifax, William Cavendish Marquis of Hartington, John Manners Marquis of Granby; Sir Charles Hedges and Robert Harley, Principal Secretaries of State; John Smith; Henry Boyle, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Holt, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Edward Northey, Attorney General; Sir Simon Harcourt, Solicitor General; Sir John Cooke; and Stephen Waller, Doctor of Laws.——The Scottish Commissioners were, James Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor of Scotland; James Duke of Queensberry, Lord Privy Seal; John Earl of Mar, and Hugh Earl of Loudon, Principal Secretaries of State; John Earl of Sutherland, John Earl of Morton, David Earl of Wemys, David Earl of Leven, John Earl of Stair, Archibald Earl of Roseberry,

David

BOOK I. 1706. on both sides, they met on the sixteenth day of April, in the council-chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the Lord-Keeper of England, and the Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, That all the proposals should be made in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: That no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the Queen and the two Parliaments for their approbation: That a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a fœderal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish Parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The Lord-Keeper proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great-Britain: That it should be represented by one and the same Parliament; and, That the succession of this monarchy, failing of heirs of her Majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of Parliament passed in

David Earl of Glasgow, Lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viscount Duplin, Lord William Ross, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, President of the Session; Adam Cockburn, of Ormistoun, Lord Justice Clerk; Sir Robert Dundas, of Arnistoun, Robert Stuart of Tillicultrie, Lords of the Session; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury; Sir David Dalrymple, one of her Majesty's Solicitors; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Receiver General; Sir Patrick Johnston, Provost of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill; George Lockhart, of Carnwath; William Morrison, of Preston-grange; Alexander Grant; William Seton, of Pitmidden; John Clerk, of Pennycook; Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stuart, and Daniel Campbell.

the

the reign of King William, intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. The Scottish Commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamour of their nation, presented a proposal, implying, that the succession to the Crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of King William's reign: That the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging: and, That the subjects of England should enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: That there should be a free communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English Commissioners declined entering into any considerations upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twice visited by the Queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove so advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the twenty-second of July, and next day presented to her Majesty, at the palace of St. James's, by the Lord-Keeper in the name of the English Commissioners: at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the Lord-Chancellor of Scotland: and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the Queen returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of Council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union,

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1706. § XLV. In this famous treaty it was stipulated, That the succession to the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be vested in the Princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the Parliament of England: That the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same Parliament: That all the subjects of Great-Britain should enjoy a communication of Privileges and advantages: That they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs; that Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities: That the sum of three hundred ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England: That, as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase, as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England: That the sum to be paid at present, as well as the monies arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin; in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the publick debts of the kingdom of Scotland: in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of Commissioners to be appointed by her Majesty, and accountable to the Parliament of Great-Britain: that the laws concerning

cerning publick right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland: That the Court of Session, and all other Courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the Parliament of Great-Britain: That all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life should be reserved to the owners, as rights and property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland: That the rights and privileges of the Royal Boroughs in Scotland should remain entire after the union: That Scotland should be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain by sixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present Parliament of Scotland: That all Peers of Scotland, and the successors to their honours and dignities, should, from and after the union, be Peers of Great-Britain, and should have rank and precedency next and immediately after the English Peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union; and before all Peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union: That they should be tried as Peers of Great-Britain, and enjoy all privileges of Peers, as fully as enjoyed by the Peers of England, except the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of Peers: That the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of Parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within

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within that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland: That all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be consistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective Parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such is the substance of that treaty of union which was so eagerly courted by the English ministry, and proved so unpalatable to the generality of the Scottish nation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

§ I. *Battle of Ramillies, in which the French are defeated.* § II. *The siege of Barcelona raised by the English fleet.* § III. *Prince Eugene obtains a complete victory over the French at Turin.* § IV. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a reinforcement to Charles King of Spain.* § V. *The King of Sweden marches into Saxony.* § VI. *The French King demands conferences for a peace.* § VII. *Meeting of the Scottish Parliament.* § VIII. *Violent opposition to the Union.* § IX. *The Scots in general averse to the treaty.* § X. *Which is nevertheless confirmed in their Parliament.* § XI. *Proceedings in the English Parliament.* § XII. *The Commons approve of the Articles of Union.* § XIII. *The Lords pass a bill for the security of the Church of England. Arguments used against the Articles of the Union.* § XIV. *Which, however, are confirmed by act of Parliament.* § XV. *The Parliament revived by proclamation.* § XVI. *The Queen gives audience to a Muscovite Ambassador.* § XVII. *Proceedings in convocation.* § XVIII. *France threatened with total ruin.* § XIX. *The Allies are defeated at Almanza.* § XX. *Unsuccessful attempt upon Toulon.* § XXI. *Sir Cloudesley Shovel wrecked on the rocks of Scilly. Weakness of the Emperor on the Upper Rhine.* § XXII. *Interview between the King of Sweden and the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXIII. *Inactive campaign in the Netherlands.* § XXIV. *Harley begins to form a party against the Duke of Marlborough.* § XXV. *The nation discontented with the Whig ministry.* § XXVI. *Meeting of the first British Parliament.* § XXVII. *Inquiry into the state of the war in Spain.* § XXVIII. *Gregg, a clerk in the secretary's office, detected in a correspondence with the French ministry.* § XXIX. *Harley re-*

signs his employments. § XXX. *The Pretender embarks at Dunkirk for Scotland.* § XXXI. *His design is defeated.* § XXXII. *State of the nation at that period.* § XXXIII. *Parliament dissolved.* § XXXIV. *The French surprise Ghent and Bruges.* § XXXV. *They are routed at Oudenarde.* § XXXVI. *The Allies invest Lisle.* § XXXVII. *They defeat a large body of French forces at Wynendale. The Elector of Bavaria attacks Brussels.* § XXXVIII. *Lisle surrendered, Ghent taken, and Bruges abandoned.* § XXXIX. *Conquest of Minorca by General Stanhope.* § XL. *Rupture between the Pope and the Emperor.* § XLI. *Death of Prince George of Denmark.* § XLII. *The new Parliament assembled.* § XLIII. *Naturalization bill.* § XLIV. *Act of grace.* § XLV. *Disputes about the Muscovite Ambassador compromised.*

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§ I. WHILE this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied arms prospered surprisingly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French King had resolved to make very considerable efforts in these countries; and, indeed, at the beginning of the campaign his armies were very formidable. He hoped that, by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia. He knew that he could outnumber any body of forces that Prince Louis of Baden should assemble on the Rhine; and he resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and conferred with the States-General. Then he assembled the army between Borschloen and Groes-Waren, and found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and pontoons. The Court of France having received intelligence

intelligence that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the Confederates, ordered the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the nineteenth day of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horse of the army, commanded by Mareschal Marsin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitsunday, early in the morning, the Duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next day the French Generals perceiving the Confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, the right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the side of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquenies, which the enemy had occupied. The Duke ordered Lieutenant-General Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time Velt-Mareschal D'Auverquerque, on the left commanded Colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquenies. Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigour and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the troops of the French King's household, that they began to give way, when the Duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a

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morass prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come seasonably to his relief. When he remounted his horse, the head of Col. Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the Duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines between Ossuz and Anderkirk: but the English horse, having found means to pass the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave way on all sides. The horse fled three different ways: but were so closely pursued that very few escaped. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Mareschal de Villeroy, saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's van-guard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse being informed of this accident pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The pursuit was followed through Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine. In a word, the Confederates obtained a complete victory. They took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, or standards, six hundred officers, six thousand private soldiers; and about eight

eight thousand were killed or wounded*. Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbason lost their lives: the Major-General Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the Marquisses de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Beaume, this last the son of the Mareschal de Tallard, Monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxembourg, and many other persons of distinction. The loss of the Allies did not exceed three thousand men, including Prince Louis of Hesse, and Mr. Bentinck, who were slain in the engagement. The French Generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the Allies took possession of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged King Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, met with the same fate. The garrison of Dendermonde surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Aeth submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation. Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure: but the constraint had such an effect upon his constitution that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military transactions: all was solemn, silent, and reserved.

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* The French impute the loss of this battle to the misconduct of Villeroy, who, it must be owned, made a most wretched disposition. When he returned to Versailles, where he expected to meet with nothing but reproaches, Louis received him without the least mark of displeasure, saying, "Mr. Mareschal, you and I are too old to be fortunate."

§ II.

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§ II. Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French King might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the sixth day of April King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the Count de Thoulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron. The inhabitants, animated by the presence of King Charles, made a vigorous defence: and the garrison was reinforced with some troops from Gironne and other places. But, after the fort of Montjuic was taken, the place was so hard pressed, that Charles ran the utmost risk of falling into the hands of the enemy; for the Earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with two thousand men, found it impracticable to enter the city. Nevertheless, he maintained his post upon the hills: and with surprising courage and activity, kept the besiegers in continual alarm. At length, Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line; and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French Admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than he set sail for Toulon. In three days after his departure, King Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in great disorder, leaving behind his tents, with the sick and wounded. On the side of Portugal the Duke of Berwick was left with such an inconsiderable force as proved insufficient to defend the frontiers. The earl of Galway, with an army of twenty thousand men, undertook the siege of Alcantara; and in three days the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaris; but the Portuguese would penetrate no farther until they should know the fate of Barcelona. When they understood the siege was raised, they consented to proceed to Madrid. Philip, guessing their

their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his Queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away. About the latter end of June the Earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by an heretick, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona, until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid, with an army equal to that commanded by the Earl of Galway. This General made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as Sovereign of Arragon and Valencia. In the beginning of August this Prince arrived at the Portuguese camp, with a small reinforcement; and in a few days was followed by the Earl of Peterborough, at the head of five hundred dragoons. The two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but as each expected further reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement. The Earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the Prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of King Charles, retired in disgust; and embarking on board an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthagena, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by assault, and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the Straits, one squadron was detached to the West-Indies, another to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England.

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§ III. Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy than in Flanders. The Duke de Vendome having been recalled to assume the command

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mand in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the Duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of the Mareschal de Marsin. They were ordered to besiege Turin, which was accordingly invested in the month of May: and the operations carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this siege. It was not undertaken until the Duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French Monarch, which were sufficient to have shaken a Prince of less courage and fortitude. The Duke de la Feuillade having finished the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, sent his Quarter-master General, with a trumpet, to offer passports and a guard for the removal of the Duchess and her children. The Duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family, and that the Mareschal might begin to execute his master's orders whenever he should think fit; but, when the siege began with uncommon fury, and the French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two Duchesses, with the young Prince and Princesses, quitted Turin, and retired to Quierasco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa. The Duke himself forsook his capital, in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry; and was pursued from place to place by five-and-forty squadrons under the command of the Count D'Aubeterre. Notwithstanding the very noble defence which was made by the garrison of Turin, which destroyed fourteen thousand of the enemy during the course of the siege, the defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no prospect of relief but from Prince Eugene, who had numberless difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The Duke de Vendome, before he left Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio,

and

and formed such lines and entrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the Imperial General from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the Prince surmounted all opposition; passed four great rivers in despite of the enemy; and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth day of August. There being joined by the Duke of Savoy, he passed the Po between Montcalier and Caviglian. On the fifth day of September they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules: next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and the left on Stura before the Veneria. The enemy were entrenched, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of Capuchins, called Notre Dame de la Campagne, in their centre. When Prince Eugene approached Turin, the Duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the entrenchments, and give him battle; and this proposal was seconded by all the General Officers, except Marsin, who, finding the Duke determined, produced an order from the French King commanding the Duke to follow the Maresthal's advice. The Court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement against those who had so often defeated their armies; and this officer had private instructions to keep within the trenches. On the seventh day of September the Confederates marched up to the entrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half cannon shot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress. Prince Eugene perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the entrenchments at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the same success in the

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the centre, and on the right near Lucengo. The horse advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The Duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage; and received several wounds in the engagement. Mareschal de Marsin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about five thousand men were slain on the field of battle; a great sumber of officers, and upwards of seven thousand men were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burthen, ten thousand horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the Commissary-general, so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres. The loss of the Confederates did not exceed three thousand men killed or disabled in the action, besides about the same number at the garrison of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs. He was told that the Duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of Prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of an advantage gained about this time, by the Count de Medavi-grancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him

him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men: but this victory was attended with no consequence in their favour. The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the Confederates. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ IV. Over and above these disasters which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed by the project of an invasion from Britain, formed by the Marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partizan of the Confederates. He was declared a Lieutenant-general in the Emperor's army, and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malcontents in the southern parts of France. He insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service. About eleven thousand men were embarked under the conduct of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined squadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds, and there they held a council of war to concert their operation, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded upon such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately dispatched to the Admiralty, with the result of this council; and in the mean time, letters arrived at Court from the Earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, soliciting succours with the most earnest entreaties.

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The expedition to France was immediately postponed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth day of the next month the King of Portugal died, and his eldest son and successor being but eighteen years of age, was even more than his father influenced by a ministry which had private connections with the Court of Versailles. Nevertheless, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Earl Rivers being pressed by letters from King Charles and the Earl of Galway, sailed to their assistance in the beginning of January; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alicant, from whence the Earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, in order to assist at a general council of war. The operations of the ensuing campaign being concerted, and the army joined by the reinforcement from England, Earl Rivers, disliking the country, returned with the Admiral to Lisbon.

§ V. Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the King of Sweden, who in the beginning of September suddenly marched through Lusatia into Saxony; and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution. Augustus being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose. In the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish forces at Kalish in Great Poland; and by dint of numbers routed them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful King of Poland, reserving to himself no more than the empty title of Sovereign. The Confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles

in the heart of Germany, and the French Court did not fail to court his alliance; but he continued on the reserve against all their solicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices, as soon as he should know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ VI. The pride of Louis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies. He employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-General, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the Marquis d'Alegre. He likewise besought the Pope to interpose in his behalf. He offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to King Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was peace, yet he did not despair of being able to excite such jealousies among the Confederates as might shake the basis of their union. His hope was not altogether disappointed. The Court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the Emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the Allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French King at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the Confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their Pensionary, Heinsius, entirely influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the

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the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition; for all his great qualities were obscured by the sordid passion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war the Allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed to bridle the power of France effectually, and secure the liberties of the empire; and indeed, if their real design was to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the Allies proposed to establish. But other motives contributed to a continuation of the war. The powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England in particular thought herself intitled to an indemnification for the immense sums she had expended. Animated by these concurring considerations; Queen Anne and the States-General rejected the offers of France; and declared, that they would not enter into any negociation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

§ VII. The Tories of England began to meditate schemes of opposition against the Duke of Marlborough. They looked upon him as a selfish nobleman, who sacrificed the interest of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burthen; and they did not doubt but at this period such terms might be obtained as would fully answer the great purpose of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the sensible people of the nation who were not particularly interested in the prosecution of the war, either by being connected with the General, or in some shape employed in the management of the finances. The Tories were

likewise instigated by a party-spirit against Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full possession of the Queen's confidence, and openly patronized the Whig faction. But the attention of people in general was now turned upon the Scottish Parliament, which took into consideration the treaty of Union lately concluded between the Commissioners of both kingdoms. On the third day of October, the Duke of Queensberry, as High-Commissioner, produced the Queen's letter, in which she expressed her hope, that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her Parliament of Scotland. She said, an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosity that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations: it would increase their strength, riches, and commerce: the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interests; it would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the Protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the Union. She demanded the necessary supplies. She observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms afforded the nearer prospect of a happy peace with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union; that they had no reason to doubt but the Parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the Union: finally, she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great-Britain.

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§ VIII. Hitherto the articles of the Union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people: but the treaty being recited in Parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the Restoration. The Cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a Revolution in favour of a Pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in Parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated at a coalition, by which their Parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The People in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their Crown was betrayed; that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption; that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a Parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their Church would be exposed from a bench of Bishops, and a Parliament of Episcopalians. This consideration alarmed the Presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit, in waking the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced an universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid Puritans joined the Cavaliers in expressing their detestation of the Union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In Parliament the opposition was headed by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Marquis of Annandale. The first of these noblemen

noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct, that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He was generally supposed to favour the claim of the Pretender; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English Parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the Court of St. Germain's; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty, were carried on with great heat and vivacity; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring Prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain; for if the Parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the Parliament of Great Britain to assume the same power: that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon those who possessed the means of corruption: and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. "What! (said the Duke of Hamilton) shall "we in half an hour give up what our forefathers "maintained with their lives and fortunes for many "ages? Are here none of the descendants of those "worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their "country against all invaders; who assisted the great "King Robert Bruce to restore the constitution "and revenge the falsehood of England, and the "usurpation of Baliol? Where are the Douglasses "and Campbells? Where are the Peers, where are "the Barons, once the bulwark of the nation? "Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independency of our country, when we are commanded

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"by those we represent to preserve the same, and "assured of their assistance to support us?" The Duke of Athol protested against an incorporating Union, as contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws, and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the Peers, the rights and privileges of the Barons and Boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen Peers and forty-six Commoners adhered. The Earl Mareschal entered a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the Crown of England should inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the Scottish Crown and Kingdom, the frequency and power of Parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the Union, stipulating, that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same Parliament, the country-party observed, that, by assenting to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals, which no power, whatever, can alter: that the rights and privileges of Parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no Parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of Parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in Parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of Parliament; but that by this treaty the Parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English Parliament substituted in their place. They argued, that though the legislative power in Parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices: yet the giving up the constitution with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject

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to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and be represented in Parliament. They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British Parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the Marquis of Annandale against an incorporating Union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the Church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the most inflammatory disputes. The Lord Belhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would attend the Union, in a pathetick speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addresses against the treaty were presented to Parliament by the Convention of Boroughs, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, the Company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of Whig or Tory, Episcopalian or Presbyterian. The Earl of Buchan for the Peers, Lockhart of Carnwarth for the Barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the Peers, Barons, and Boroughs, the Earls of Errol and Marischal for themselves, as High-constable and Earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of Union.

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§ IX. While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The more rigid Presbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries,

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burned the articles of the Union at the Market-cross, justifying their conduct in a publick declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to Duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the Episcopalians and the Cavaliers: they resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the Parliament: while the Duke of Athol undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his Highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the Duke's command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and dispatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The more sanguine Cavaliers accused his Grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alleged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprize, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have wafted over a considerable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the Commissioners for the Union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards dispersed the multitude. The Privy Council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat: ordering the guards to fire upon those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them for all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. These guards were placed all round the house in which the Peers and Commons were assembled, and the Council

cil received the thanks of the Parliament, for having thus provided for their safety. Notwithstanding these precautions of the Government, the Commissioner was constantly saluted with the curses and imprecations of the people as he passed along; his guards were pelted, and some of his attendants wounded with stones as they sat by him in the coach, so that he was obliged to pass through the streets on full gallop. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ X. Against all the national fury, the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, the Earls of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the Union, acted with equal prudence and resolution. They argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the House. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a Popish Pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadron who had hitherto been unpropitious to the Court. They disarmed the resentment of the Clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the Union, declaring the Presbyterian discipline to be the only government of the Church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the Cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition. These remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which the

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the Queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the Ministry in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence the clamour of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in Parliament, which out-voted all opposition. Not but that the Duke of Queensberry at one time despaired of succeeding, and being in continual apprehension for his life, expressed a desire of adjourning the Parliament, until by time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be insurmountable. But the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be entirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottish Parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the Union, with some small variation. They then prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen Peers, and forty-five Commoners to represent Scotland in the British Parliament. This being touched with the sceptre, the Three Estates proceeded to elect their representatives. The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African Company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the Commissioner adjourned the Parliament, after having, in a short speech, taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the Court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback.

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Next day he waited upon the Queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record, of a Ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade should be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or, at best, prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the execution of any great project; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XI. The English Parliament assembling on the third day of December, the Queen, in her speech to both Houses, congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms. She desired the Commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful campaign. She told them that the treaty of Union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish Parliament; and she recommended dispatch in the publick affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmness and vigour of their proceedings. The Parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her Majesty's requests. Warm addresses were presented by both Houses. Then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and having examined the estimates in

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less than a week, voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. Nevertheless, in examining the accounts, some objections arose. They found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of King Charles of Spain, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by Parliament. Some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the Parliament should pay the money. The Courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity, or ill applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished: but, as this expence was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to Parliament, the Ministry was rather to be applauded for their zeal, than condemned for their liberality. The question being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the Duke of Savoy, for the interest of King Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. When the Speaker presented the money-bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies, was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising that the Commons had granted supplies to her Majesty before the enemy could well know that the Parliament was sitting. The General was again honoured with the thanks of both Houses. The Lords, in an address, besought the Queen to settle his honours on his posterity. An act was passed for this purpose; and in pursuance of another address from the Commons, a pension of five thousand pounds out of the Post-Office was settled upon him and his descendants. The Lords and Commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the Queen closed the year with triumphal processions. As the standards and colours taken at Blenheim had been

been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time, the Earls of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston, were raised to the rank of Marquisses. The Lords Wharton, Paulet, Godolphin, and Cholmondeley, were created Earls. Lord Walden, son and heir apparent to the Earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of Earl of Bindon: the Lord-keeper Cowper, and Sir Thomas Pelham, were ennobled as Barons. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XII. The Parliament being assembled after their short recess, the Earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the Queen, desiring her Majesty would order the proceedings of the Commissioners for the Union, as well as those of the Scottish Parliament on the said subject, to be laid before them. He was seconded by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rochester; and answered by the Earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her Majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scottish Parliament should have discussed the subject of the Union. The Lords Wharton, Somers, and Hallifax observed, that it was for the honour of the nation that the treaty of Union should first come ratified from the Parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the Lords to take it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the Queen in person told both Houses, that the treaty of Union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish Parliament: that she had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the Commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both Houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms;

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and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the Commons formed themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the articles of the Union, and the Scottish Act of Ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating Union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution, and he would leave it to the judgment of the House, to consider whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their House of Representatives. He observed that her Majesty, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the Church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom. Now, said he, after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her Majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the Church of England. It is then only the part of the Bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will, or can act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the Presbyterian church-government in the united kingdom? He added, that the Church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the Kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential an article could unite: he, therefore, thought it proper to consult the convocation about this critical point. A motion was made that the first article of the treaty, which implies

implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating Union, should be postponed; and that the House should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended Union, contained in the other articles. This proposal being rejected, some Tory members quitted the House; and all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition. The Whigs were so eager in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and with such precipitation as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required. CHAP. IX. 1706.

§ XIII. Before the Lords began to investigate the articles of the Union, they, at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the Church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of that treaty. It passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the Royal assent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the Union began in the House of Lords, the Queen being present, and the Bishop of Sarum chairman of the committee. The Earls of Rochester, Anglesey, and Nottingham, argued against the Union; as did the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haversham, in a premeditated harangue, said the question was, Whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church-government, and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it an Union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been said by Lord Bacon, that an unity pieced up by direct

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admission of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay; they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He dissented from the Union for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy-council. He took notice, that above one hundred Scottish Peers, and as many commoners, were excluded from sitting and voting in Parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as any English Peer had of sitting in the Parliament of England. He expressed his apprehension of this precedent: and asked what security any Peer of England had for his right and privilege of Peerage, which those Lords had not. He said, if the Bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the Presbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true Protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between them and the Presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men in the Church of England. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities were reserved. He affirmed that the Union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation: that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the Parliament: that the Parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the Act of Security for arming the people: that the government had issued a proclamation pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded, that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporating

ing Union, which he looked upon as one of the most dangerous experiments to both nations. Lord North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed upon Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham said it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expence of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The same topicks were insisted upon by the Lords North and Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Stawell, and Abingdon. The Earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect: "As Sir John "Maynard said to the late King at the Revolution, "that having buried all his contemporaries in West-"minster-hall, he was afraid, if his Majesty had "not come in that very juncture of time, he might "have likewise outlived the very laws; so, if this "Union do pass, as I have no reason to doubt but "it will, I may justly affirm I have outlived all the "laws, and the very constitution of England: I, "therefore, pray to God to avert the dire effects "which may probably ensue from such an incor-"porating Union."

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§ XIV. These arguments and objections were answered by the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the Lords Townshend, Halifax, and Somers, the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum. They observed, that such an important measure could not be effected without some inconveniencies; but that these ought to be borne, in consideration of the greatness of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which the Church was exposed arose from France and Popery: and this union would effectually secure it against these evils: that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army. Should a war break out between the

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the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprizing Prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominion: that any union after a conquest would be compulsive, consequently of short duration: whereas now it was voluntary it would be lasting: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all heats and animosities might be allayed by soft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religions, were yet united in one general body; and the Diet of Germany was composed of Princes and States, among whom three different persuasions prevailed: so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature. If there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as five hundred and thirteen members could certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the House of Lords, six-and-twenty Bishops would always preponderate against sixteen Peers from Scotland. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the Lords of the Tory interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the Lower House by Sir Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor-General, in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both Parliaments for the security of the several churches; and in conclusion there was one clause, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their design. They could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause. On

Burnet. Boyer. Quincy. Torcy. Tindal. Feuquieres Hist. of Europe. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

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the other hand, the Whigs promoted it with such zeal that it passed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recollected themselves from the surprise which the structure of the bill had occasioned. It made its way through the House of Lords with equal dispatch; and, when it received the Royal sanction, the Queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people. CHAP. IX. 1706. Lockhart. Ker. Friend. Voltaire.

§ XV. As the act of Union did not take place till the first of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to make advantage of this interval. The English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as entitled them to drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May. The Scots on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandize, which they could sell at a greater advantage in England after the Union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations. Some of the ministers had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the Commons. Resolutions were immediately taken in the House against these practices, and a bill was prepared; but the Lords apprehending that it in some measure infringed the articles of the Union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped. The frauds had been in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the House; and the first day of An. 1707.

May

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May was now at hand; so that the bill was thought unnecessary. On the twenty-fourth day of April the Queen prorogued the Parliament, after having given them to understand, that she would continue by proclamation the Lords and Commons already assembled, as members in the first British Parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the powers vested in her by the acts of Parliament of both kingdoms, ratifying the treaty of Union. The Parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another issued to convoke the first Parliament of Great-Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the Queen, who bestowed the title of Duke on the Earls of Roxburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new Privy-council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next Session of Parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of publick thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but the University of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion.

§ XVI. In the course of this session the Commons, in an address to the Queen, desired she would re-settle the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis in the West-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy. They likewise resolved, That an humble address should be presented to her Majesty, praying, she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pirates who had made a settlement on the island of Madagascar, as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possession, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland. The French Refugees likewise delivered a remonstrance to the Queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted Protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her

her Royal Progenitors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her Majesty's interposition and good offices in favour of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring, she had always great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the Protestants in France: that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies; and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should effectually answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his Master, containing complaints of King Augustus, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a dishonourable peace with Charles King of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and surrendered Count Patkul, the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish Monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even to the practice of barbarians. He therefore, desired her Britannick Majesty would use her good offices for the enlargement of the Count, and the other Russian prisoners detained at Stockholm; and that she would take into her protection the remains of the Russian auxiliaries upon the Rhine, that they might either enter into the service of the Allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The Queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul: but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity. As many severe and sarcastick writings had lately appeared, in which the Whigs and ministry were reviled, and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the Queen's person, the government resolved to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious

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centious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses, intituled, "The "Country Parson's Advice to the Lord-Keeper," and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. Secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A letter to the Author of the "Memorial of the Church of England." Edward Ward was fined and set in the pillory, for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus;" and the same punishment was inflicted upon William Pittes, author of a performance, intituled, "The Case of the "Church of England's Memorial fairly stated."

§. XVII. The Lower House of Convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors; and though they joined the Upper House in a congratulatory address to the Queen on the success of her arms, they resolved to make application to the Commons against the Union. The Queen being apprised of their design, desired the Archbishop to prorogue them for three week, before the expiration of which the act of Union had passed in Parliament. The Lower House delivered a representation to the Bishops, in which they affirmed, no such prorogation had ever been ordered during the session of Parliament. The Bishops found in their records seven or eight precedents of such prorogations, and above thirty instances of the Convocation having sat sometimes before, and sometimes after a session of Parliament: nay, sometimes even when the Parliament was dissolved. The Queen, informed of these proceedings, wrote a letter to the Archbishop, intimating, that she looked upon the Lower House as guilty of an invasion of her Royal Supremacy; and that if any thing of the same nature should be attempted for the future, she would use such means for punishing offenders as the law warranted. The Prolocutor absenting himself from the Convocation, the

the Archbishop pronounced sentence of contumacy against him. The Lower House, in a protestation, declared this sentence unlawful and altogether null. Nevertheless, the Prolocutor made a full submission, with which the Archbishop was satisfied, and the sentence was repealed. About this period the Earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was not effected without great opposition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough, and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the Duchess. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XVIII. The French King at this juncture seemed to be entirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had sustained such a number of successive defeats as had drained his kingdom of people, and his treasury was almost exhausted. He endeavoured to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England; but, notwithstanding all his precautions, they passed at a discount of three-and-fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The Allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter. They had become masters of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies; the army of King Charles was considerably reinforced: a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, supplied with a large sum of money by Queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a word, France seemed to be reduced to the verge of destruction, from which nothing in all probability could have saved her but the jealousy and misconduct of the Confederates. Louis, by virtue

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of his capitulation with the Emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain, as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the distractions in the council of King Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence, without which no success can be expected. The Earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile; and advised Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon. This opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

§ XIX. Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was assembled at Caudela, to the number of sixteen thousand men; under the auspices of the Marquis das Minas, to whom the Earl of Galway was second in command. They marched towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Vilena; but, having received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the Confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The English and Dutch squadrons on the left, sustained by the Portuguese horse of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great-Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their first upon their second line: but the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at their first charge, their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired from

from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horse, destitute of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply. Moved by these dismal considerations they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the Earl of Galway, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About three thousand men of the allied army were killed upon the spot, and among that number Brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of distinction. The Earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The Marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his concubine, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: The Lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton, were wounded: all their artillery, together with an hundred and twenty colours and standards, and about ten thousand men, were taken; so that no victory could be more complete: yet it was not purchased without the loss of two thousand men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The Duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of King Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before and during the engagement; but his authority was superseded by the Duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This Prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory. He began a private negociation with the Earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida, which

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was surrendered by capitulation on the second day of November: then the troops on both sides went into winter-quarters. The Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and General Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to King Charles.

§ XX. The attempt upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the Emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Maritime Powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the Ecclesiastical State towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. Besides, ten thousand recruits destined for the Imperial forces in Italy were detained in Germany, from apprehension of the King of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and seemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the Emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene passed the Var* on the eleventh day of July, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons. The French King was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as five thousand pieces of cannon, vast magazines, and the best part of his fleet, were in the

* This passage was effected to the astonishment of the French, who thought the works they had raised on that river were impregnable. The honour of the enterprize was in a great measure owing to the gallantry of Sir John Norris and the English seamen. That brave officer, embarking in boats with six hundred sailors and marines, entered the river, and were rowed within musket-shot of the enemy's works, where they made such a vigorous and unexpected attack, that the French were immediately driven from part of their entrenchments: then Sir John landed with his men, clambered over the works, that were deemed inaccessible, and attacking the defendants sword in hand, compelled them to fly with the utmost precipitation. This detachment was sustained by Sir Cloudesley Shovel in person. The Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, passed the river almost without opposition.

harbour

harbour of Toulon, and ran the greatest risk of being entirely taken or destroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation, when they found their enemies were in the bosom of their country. The monarch resolved to leave no stone unturned for the relief of the place, and his subjects exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner for its preservation. The nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their servants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coined their plate, and pawned their jewels for money to pay the workmen employed upon the fortifications; and such industry was used, that in a few days the town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good posture of defence. The Allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From these they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigour. They sunk ships in the entrance to the mole: they kept up a prodigious fire from the ramparts: they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French King, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence, and the Court of Versailles declared, that the Duke of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon. The Duke of Savoy being apprised of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his

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his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon his enterprize. The artillery being re-embarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favour of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the English fleet, and retreated to his own country without molestation*. Then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné.

§. XXI. Sir Cloudesley Shovel having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second day of October. About eight o'clock at night his own ship, the Association, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Firebrand was dashed in pieces on the rocks: but the Captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the Phœnix was driven on shore: the Royal Anne was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the St. George, commanded by Lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again. The Admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-Abbey. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea, by his industry, valour, skill,

* Had the Duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have found Toulon defenceless; but he lingered in such a manner as gives reason to believe he was not hearty in the enterprize; and his operations were retarded by a difference between him and his kinsman Prince Eugene.

and integrity. On the Upper Rhine the Allies were unprosperous*. The Prince of Baden was dead, and the German army so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl against the Mareschal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg un- CHAP. IX. 1707.

* In the month of May three ships of the line, namely, the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, commanded by Commodore Baron Wylde; the Grafton, of seventy guns, Captain Edward Acton; and the Hampton-Court, of seventy guns, Captain George Clements, sailed as convoy to the West India and Portugal fleet of merchant-ships, amounting to five-and-fifty sail. They fell in with the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin. A furious action immediately ensued, and notwithstanding the vast disproportion in point of number, was maintained by the English Commodore with great gallantry, until Captain Acton was killed, Captain Clements mortally wounded, and the Grafton and Hampton-Court were taken, after having sunk the Salisbury, at that time in the hands of the French: then the Commodore, having eleven feet water in his hold, disengaged himself from the enemy, by whom he had been surrounded, and ran his ship aground near Dungenesse; but she afterwards floated, and he brought her safe into the Downs. In the mean time the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one English merchant-ships of great value, which, with the Grafton and Hampton-Court, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July the same active officer took fifteen ships belonging to the Russian company, off the coast of Lapland: In September he joined another squadron fitted out at Brest under the command of the celebrated M. du Guai Trouin, and these attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal fleet, consisting of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French squadron did not fall short of twelve-sail of the line, the English Captains maintained the action for many hours with surprizing valour. At length the Devonshire was obliged to yield to superior numbers: the Cumberland blew up; the Chester and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midst of her enemies, and arrived safe in the harbour of Kinsale; and the Lisbon fleet saved themselves, by making the best of their way during the enagement. Since the battle off Malaga the French King had never dared to keep the sea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this sort in order to distress the trade of England. He was the more encouraged to pursue these measures, by the correspondence which his ministers carried on with some wretches belonging to the Admiralty, and the other officers, who basely betrayed their country in transmitting to France such intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce, as enabled the enemy to attack them at advantage. In the course of this year the French Fishery, stages, ships, and vessels in Newfoundland were taken, burned, and destroyed, by Captain John Underdown, of the Falkland.

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der contribution, took Stutgard and Schondorf; and routed three thousand Germans entrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progress towards the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army's being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence. The Imperial army retired towards Hailbron, and the command of it was at the request of the Emperor and Allies, assumed by the Elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection: but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprize of importance.

§ XXII. In the month of April, the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipsick with a letter from the Queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs were still so mysterious, that the Confederates could not help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The Duke was pitched upon as the most proper Ambassador, to soothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intention*. He found this original character, not simple, but sordid in his appearance and œconomy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English General assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. "Sire, said he, "I present to your Majesty a letter, not from the "Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen my "mistress, and written with her own hand. Had

* When the Duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of Count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand that the Count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. When he appeared at last, the Duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the Count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having staid some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

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" not her sex prevented her from taking so long a " journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a " Prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem " myself happy in having the honour of assuring " your Majesty of my regard; and I should think " it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me, " to learn under so great a general as your Majesty " what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He professed particular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for the person of her Ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance. Nevertheless, the sincerity of this declaration has been questioned. The French Court is said to have gained over his minister, Count Piper, to their interest. Certain it is, he industriously sought occasion to quarrel with the Emperor, and treated him with great insolence, until he submitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded upon the terms he thought proper to impose, he had no longer the least shadow of pretence to continue his disputes with the Court of Vienna: and therefore began his march for Poland, which was by this time over-run by the Czar of Muscovy.

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§ XXIII. The Duke of Marlborough returning from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Anderlach near Brussels, about the middle of May; and, understanding that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Soignies, with a design to engage them in the plain of Fleurus. But receiving certain intelligence, that the enemy were greatly superior to the Allies in number, by the help of drafts from all the garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Mildert; while the French advanced to Gemblours,

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blours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy sent off a large detachment towards Provence. Then the Duke of Marlborough and General D'Auverquerque resolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours. But they retreated with such celerity from one post to another, that the Confederates could not come up with them until they were safely encamped with the right at Pont-a-Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Schelde, and secured by entrenchments. The Allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy: but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter-quarters in the latter end of October. The Duke of Marlborough set out for Franckfort, where he conferred with the Electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the necessary measures with the Deputies of the States-General, embarked for England the beginning of November.

§ XXIV. The Queen's private favour was now shifted to a new object. The Duchess of Marlborough was supplanted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had rescued from indigence and obscurity. This favourite succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her Sovereign which the Duchess had formerly possessed. She was more humble, pliable, and obliging, than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the Queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her Majesty's prepossession in favour of the Tories and High-Churchmen was no longer insolently condemned and violently opposed. The new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation. In political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had insinuated

ated himself into the Queen's good graces; and determined to sap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own auspices, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this scheme, was Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprizing, whose talents were rather specious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating. He was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the Secretary: but when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the disunited Tories, who were given to understand, that the Queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the Whigs: that she had been always a friend in her heart to the Tory and High Church party: and that she would now exhibit manifest proof of her inclination. She accordingly bestowed the bishopricks of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished characters, had openly condemned the Revolution.

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§ XXV. The people in general began to be sick of the Whig ministry, whom they had formerly caressed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned; burthens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted success. At present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line,

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line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of Messieurs Forbin and Du Guai Trouin, two of the most enterprizing sea-officers in the French service. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished; and the publick credit began to decline. The Tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, and the ministry were too remiss in taking proper steps for the satisfaction of the nation. Instead of soothing by gentle measures, and equal administration, the Scots, who had expressed such aversion to the Union, they treated them in such a manner, as served to exasperate the spirits of that people. A stop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied to the most shameful partiality. Seizures of wines and other merchandise imported from thence into England, were made in all the northern parts with an affectation of severity and disdain: so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the Union and the Government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's: a great number of the most rigid Whigs entered so far into their measures, as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country; the Pretender's birth-day was publickly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom: and every thing seemed to portend an universal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the administration of the Earl of Pembroke, whom the Queen had appointed Lord-

Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. A Parliament having met at Dublin in the month of July, presented addresses of congratulation to her Majesty on the late Union of the two kingdoms. The Commons having inspected the publick accounts, resolved, That the kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late trustees, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust; and, That an humble representation should be laid before her Majesty on this subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favour of their own manufactures. They granted the necessary supplies, and having finished several bills for the Royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth day of October. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§ XXVI. It was on the twenty-third of the same month, that the first Parliament of Great-Britain assembled at Westminster, when the Queen in her speech to both Houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain: represented the necessity of making further efforts against the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the Commonwealth. The Commons, in their address, expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her Majesty's government: but in the House of Lords, the Earl of Wharton expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by Lord Somers, and the leaders of the Tory party, who proposed, that, previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation. The design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the Earl of Orford once more to the head of the Admiralty; and the Tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped, in the course of the inquiry, to fix the blame of all mismanagement upon the Whig ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the House received a petition from the Sheriffs and Merchants of London, complaining of great loss by sea, for want

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of cruisers and convoys; and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The report was sent to the Lord-Admiral, who answered all the articles separately: then the Tories moved for an address, in which the blame of the miscarriages might be laid upon the ministry and cabinet-council; but the motion was over-ruled: the Queen was presented with a bare representation of the facts, and desired that she would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future. The Commons made some progress in an inquiry of the same nature; and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom. They cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. They prepared another bill for repealing the Scottish Act of Security, and that about peace and war, which had excited such jealousy in the English nation. They resolved, That there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain: That the militia of Scotland should be put on the same footing with that of England: That the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole island: That the Lords of Justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice in the year: That the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in the House of Commons should be directed, and returns made, in the same manner as practised in England. An act being formed on these resolutions, they brought in a bill for preserving the trade with Portugal: then they considered the state of the war in Spain.

§ XXVII. When the Queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. This intimation produced a debate in the House of Lords, on the affairs of Spain. The services of the Earl of Peterborough were extolled by the Earl of Rochester and Lord Haversham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the Earl of Galway. Several Lords enlarged upon the necessity

necessity of carrying on the war until King Charles should be fully established upon the throne of Spain. The Earl of Peterborough said they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound rather than make peace on any other terms: he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the Earl of Galway. The Earl of Rochester repeated a maxim of the old Duke of Schomberg, That attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He therefore proposed, that the Allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men into Catalonia. He was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham; but warmly opposed by the Duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders from their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burthen of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rochester to show how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain, he assured the House, that measures had been already concerted with the Emperor, for forming an army of forty thousand men under the Duke of Savoy, for sending powerful succours to King Charles. This declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her Majesty. The Lords resolved, that no peace could be safe and honourable for her Majesty and her Allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the House of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the Emperor to send powerful succours to Spain under the command of Prince Eugene, with all possible expedition to make good his contract with the Duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army

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§ XXVIII. At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred suspicion, from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, the French King's minister. When his practices were detected he made an ample confession, and pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old-Bailey, was condemned to death for high-treason. At the same time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate, for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baude, Secretary to the Duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her Majesty and her government. A committee of seven Lords being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the House, which was communicated to the Queen, in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the Governors and Commissaries of Calais and Boulogn: and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruisers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant-ships proceeded on their voyages; that all the papers in the office of Mr. Secretary Harley had been for a considerable

considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The Queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery: but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery: but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the Sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connections, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§. XXIX. The Queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary inquiry. His military proceedings, his negociations, his disposal of the remittances were taken into consideration by both Houses: but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in Parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the Queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. The bill for rendering the Union more complete met with a vigorous opposi-

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tion in the House of Lords from the Court party, on account of the clause enacting, That, after the first of May, there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great-Britain. The ministry finding it was strenuously supported by all the Tories, and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the difference, by proposing that the Privy-council of Scotland should continue to the first day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections: but their design being palpable, the motion was over-ruled, and the bill received the Royal assent: a Court of Exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland upon the model of that in England. The execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France, under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that minister, who was reviled and traduced by the emissaries of the Whig party. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, being apprised of his secret practices with Mrs. Masham, wrote to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, should Mr. Harley continue in the post of Secretary. Being summoned to the cabinet-council, they waited on her in person, and expostulated on the same subject. She endeavoured to appease their resentment with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and when they retired from Court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council. There Mr. Secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs. The Duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters while the General and Treasurer were absent: the other members observed a sullen silence; so that the council broke up, and the Queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers. Next day

day her Majesty sent for the Duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, which was conferred upon Mr. Henry Boyle, Chancellor of the Exchequer: but she deeply resented the deportment of the Duke and the Earl of Godolphin; from whom she entirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Mansel, Comptroller of the Household, and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts upon the disgrace of Harley.

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§ XXX. The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invasion from France. The Court of St. Germain's had sent over one Colonel Hook with credentials to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and ability of the Pretender's friends in that country. This minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scottish Jacobites. Being a creature of the Duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the Duke of Athol, and those other zealous partisans who were bent upon receiving the Pretender without conditions: and he neglected the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl Mareschal, and other adherents of that House, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the Earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favourable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Louis resolved to equip an armament, and send over the Pretender to that kingdom. His pretence was to establish that Prince on the throne of his ancestors: but his real aim was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great-Britain, which should hinder Queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the Continent. He began to make preparations for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the Chevalier de Fourbin; and a body of land-forces were embarked with Monsieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the Mareschal de Matignon. The Pretender,

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tender, who had assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his life-guards, splendid liveries, and all sorts of necessaries even to profusion. Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said to this adventurer's father: "He hoped he should "never see him again." The Pope contributed to the expence of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colours and standards. Queen Anne being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French Monarch, communicated to the Commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands, touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament: both Houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her Majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, That the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants. By another, they suspended the Habeas Corpus act till October, with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The Pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her Majesty. Transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend: a large fleet being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared

peared off Mardyke: a stop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops: frequent expresses were dispatched to Paris: the Count de Fourbin represented to the French King the little probability of succeeding in this enterprize, and the danger that would attend the attempt: but he received positive orders to embark the forces, and set sail with the first favourable wind. CHAP. IX. 1707.

§. XXXI. The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk; but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-pits till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, steering their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng having received advice of their departure, from an Ostend vessel sent out for that purpose by Major-General Cadogan, gave chace to the enemy, after having detached a squadron, under Admiral Baker, to convoy the troops that were embarked at Ostend for England. On the tenth day of March, the Queen went to the House of Peers, where, in a speech to both Houses, she told them that the French fleet had sailed; that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of them; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England. This intimation was followed by two very warm addresses from the Lords and Commons, in which they repeated their assurances of standing by her against all her enemies. They exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions; and levelled some severe insinuations against those who endeavoured to foment jealousies between her Majesty and her most faithful servants. Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom; so that the Queen seemed to look with contempt upon the designs of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry,

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cavalry, began their march for Scotland; the Earl of Leven, Commander in chief of the forces in that country, and Governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the Pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the Frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English Admiral gave chace; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night Monsieur de Fourbin altered his course, so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The Pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify his request: but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the Chevalier de St. George and his General, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they laboured.

§ XXXII. Certain it is, the Pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the Union: the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five-and-twenty hundred men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have

have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress: a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the Pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that House were ready to appear in arms. In England, such a demand was made upon the Bank, by those who favoured the invasion, and those who dreaded a revolution, that the publick credit seemed to be in danger. The Commons resolved, That whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the publick credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and an enemy to her Majesty and the kingdom. The Lord Treasurer signified to the Directors of the Bank, that her Majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills, which was double the usual rate; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset. The French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the Bank, exerted themselves for its support; and the Directors, having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the Court of St. Germain's, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with

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An. 1708. § XXXIII. On the first day of April, the Parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation. Writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the Peers of North-Britain to assemble at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the seventeenth day of June, to elect sixteen Peers to represent them in the ensuing British Parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of Union. After the dissolution of the Parliament, the Lords Griffin, Cler-

* Three Camisars, or Protestants, from the Cevennois, having made their escape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French Prophets, from their enthusiastick gesticulations, effusions, and convulsions; and even formed a sect of their countrymen. The French Refugees, scandalized at their behaviour, and authorised by the Bishop of London, as superior of the French congregations, resolved to inquire into the mission of these pretended prophets, whose names were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage. They were declared impostors and counterfeits. Notwithstanding this decision, which was confirmed by the Bishops, they continued their assemblies in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkley and John Lacy. They reviled the Ministers of the Established Church: they denounced judgments against the City of London, and the whole British nation; and published their predictions, composed of unintelligible jargon. Then they were prosecuted at the expence of the French churches, as disturbers of the publick peace, and false prophets. They were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breasts denoting their offence; a sentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-Cross, and the the Royal-Exchange.

In the course of this year, Mr. Stanhope, who was resident from the Queen at the Court of Charles, concluded a treaty of commerce with this monarch, which would have proved extremely advantageous to Great-Britain, had he been firmly established on the throne of Spain. It was stipulated that the English merchants should enjoy the privilege of importing all kinds of merchandize from the coast of Barbary into the maritime places of Spain, without paying any higher duty than if that merchandize had been the produce of Great-Britain; and that even these duties should not be paid till six months after the merchandize should be landed and sold, the merchants giving security for the customs. It was agreed that the whole commerce of the Spanish West Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants; and in the interim, as the greater part of that country was in the hands of Philip, his Competitor consented that the British subjects should trade freely in all the ports of the West-Indies with ten ships of five hundred tons each, under such convoy as her Britannick Majesty should think fit to appoint.

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mont, two sons of the Earl of Middleton, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, or in Newgate. Lord Griffin being attainted by outlawry, for high treason committed in the reign of King William, was brought to the bar of the Court of King's Bench, and a rule made for his execution; but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison. The Privy-council of Scotland was dissolved; the Duke of Queensberry was created a British Peer, by the title of Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverley, and Duke of Dover; and the office of Secretary at War, vacant by the resignation of Henry St. John, was bestowed upon Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more at large in the sequel. About the same time, a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes, in certain proportions, to the different officers and seamen of the Royal Navy; a regulation that still prevails.

§ XXXIV. The French King, not at all discouraged by the miscarriage of his projected invasion, resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign, and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consumptive state of his finances*. He

* Before the opening of the campaign, a very daring enterprize was formed by one Colonel Queintern, a partisan in the Imperial army. This man laid a scheme for carrying off the Dauphin of France from the court of Versailles. He selected thirty men of approved valour for this undertaking. He procured passes for them, and they rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the twenty-fourth day of March, in the evening, he and his accomplices stopped a coach and six, with the King's liveries, and arrested the person who was in it, on the supposition of his being a Prince of the blood. It was however M. de Berringhen, the King's first equerry. This officer they mounted on a spare horse, and set out for the Low Countries: but, being little acquainted with the roads, they did not reach Chantilly till next

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He assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the Duke of Berwick; and the Mareschal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphine. About the latter end of March, the Duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene: these two celebrated Generals conferred with the Pensionary Heinsius, and the Deputies of the States-General. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the Elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the Confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The Prince proceeded to Vienna, and the Duke immediately returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the Duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the Confederates, who were encamped at Billinghen and Halle. The Duke of Marlborough having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-

next morning, when they heard the Toxen, or Alarm-bell, and thence concluded that detachments were sent out in pursuit of them. Nevertheless, they proceeded boldly, and would certainly have carried the point, had not Queintern halted three hours for the refreshment of his prisoner, who complained of his being indisposed. He likewise procured a chaise, and ordered the back of it to be lowered for his convenience. These acts of humanity retarded him so much, that he was overtaken by a detachment of horse at Ham, within three hours' ride of a place of safety. Finding himself surrounded, he thought proper to surrender, and M. de Berringhen treated him with great generosity, for the civilities he had experienced at his hands. He carried him back to Versailles, and lodged him in his own apartments. Madam de Berringhen made him a considerable present; and the King ordered him and his companions to be discharged, on account of the courage and humanity they had displayed.

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Isaac to Braine-la-Leuwe, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Duele, to hinder the Allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He, therefore, commanded the army to march all night, and on the third day of June encamped at Terbank, General D'Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no farther than Genap and Braine-la-Leuwe. As they were more numerous than the Confederates, and headed by a Prince of the Blood, the Generals of the Allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle: but their scheme was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns: the Count de Bergeyck, who had considerable interest among them, was devoted to the House of Bourbon: the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconstant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The French Generals resolved to profit by these circumstances. A detachment of their troops, under the Brigadiers la Faille and Pasteur, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison: at the same time the Count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he made a fruitless attempt upon Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendhal, which he took by assault. The Duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprised of the enemy's having sent a strong detachment towards Tubize, than he marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlech. The French crossed the Senne at Halle and Tubize, and the Allies resolved to attack them next morning: but the enemy passed the Dender in the night with great expedition; and the Duke of Marlborough next day encamped at Asche, where he was joined by Prince Eugene, who had marched with a considerable reinforcement

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inforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The enemy understanding that this General was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only pass on the Schelde possessed by the Confederates: and invested it on the ninth day of July, hoping to subdue it before the Allies could be reinforced. The Duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche, as far as Herselingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. Then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

§ XXXV. Thus disappointed, the French Generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The two Generals of the Confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French household troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under Major-General Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The Duke de Vendome intended to attack the Confederates when one half of their army should have passed the Schelde; but he was thwarted by the Duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. This Prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued

nued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. Then the Duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army unformed. Major-General Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the King's household, who, finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Mean while Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw, passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy. In this attack the electoral Prince of Hanover, his late Majesty George II. charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity. His horse was shot under him, and Colonel Laschky killed by his side. Divers French regiments were entirely broken, and a good number of officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The Confederates continued still passing the river: but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the Duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the Allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not many years produced two such noble armies; above one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty Colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the Allies by twelve thousand: but their Generals were divided; their forces ill-disposed; and the men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement,

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BOOK I. 1708. and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless, the action was maintained until General D'Auverquerque and Count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the Allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground: and the Prince of Orange, with Count Oxienstern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The Duke de Vendome, alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the enclosures in great confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces: others desired to capitulate; and if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, so that it became impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the two Generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The Duke de Vendome seeing the French forces flying in the utmost terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons, and as many battalions, with which he secured the retreat. To this precaution the safety of their army was entirely owing; for at day-break the Duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse, and foot, under the Lieutenant-Generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives: but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal. There they thought proper to cast up entrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy bag-

gage. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle; two thousand deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above an hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horses. The loss of the Allies did not amount to two thousand men; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement*. After the Confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys: another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the Allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the Chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch-Flanders, broke through the lines of Bervilet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Cadsandt, which they laid under contribution. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XXXVI. The Generals of the Allies now undertook an enterprize, which, in the opinion of the French Generals, savoured of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by Maréschal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the Allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent: so that they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the thirteenth of

* Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old General D'Auverquerque and the Duke of Argyle distinguished themselves by the most extraordinary valour and activity.

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August it was invested on one side by Prince Eugene and on the other by the Prince of Orange-Nassau Stadtholder of Friesland; while the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigour and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome being now joined by the Duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and counter-marches for this purpose. Marlborough being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle, being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus King of Poland, and the Landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the Allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an entrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French Generals continued to hover about the camp of the Confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the Duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle: but their design was only to harass the Allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprise the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants: but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong entrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the Confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first day of September, Prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgment they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaille, rallied and

and led them back to the charge: but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the Duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army. On the twenty-third the Tenaille was stormed, and a lodgement made along the covered-way. Mareschal Boufflers having found means to inform the Duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this General detached the Chevalier de Luxembourg, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the Allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town into which about three hundred were admitted: but a great number were killed by the Confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XXXVII. The next attempt of the French Generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The Count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the Allies, commanded by Major-General Webb. This officer made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that, after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the Allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers. This was the most honourable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the Confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The Duke de Vendome ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water,

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in hopes of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the Confederates; and, after a regular siege, he took Colonel Caulfield, and a body of British troops posted in the village of Leffinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the Duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, Mareschal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle: next day the articles were signed: on the twenty-fifth the Allies took possession of the place, and the Mareschal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than the half of that number. A negociation was begun for the surrender of the citadel: but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month: and the Earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmude. During these transactions, Velt-Mareschal D'Auverquerque died at Rousselaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The Duke de Vendome did not despair of obliging the Confederates to abandon their enterprize: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publickly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The Elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of General Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the Duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering army to the Schelde, which they passed on pontoons without

out opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprise of the Confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the Elector had retreated. Then Prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with Prince Eugene. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XXXVIII. The besiegers having made lodgements and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative: hostages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles signed on the tenth; when the Mareschal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprize, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the Confederates: yet their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. The French Generals never dreamed that the Allies would attempt any thing of consequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris, after having distributed their army into winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the twentieth day of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries

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§ XXXIX. The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April: but the Imperial troops brought from Italy by Admiral Leake did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the Duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the Allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the Viceroy to submit to King Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the Admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled

pelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison inlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the States being assembled by the Marquis D'Alconzel, acknowledged that Prince as their Sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-General Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the Admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from Count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by Brigadier Wade and Colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and General Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines, commanded by Colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand, so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which Brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition,

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condition, That they should march out with the honours of war: That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained, by way of reprisal for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish Governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers; that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquire was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all Europe, and the garrison of Port Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the Admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for King Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petit Governor of Fort St. Philip, and Deputy-Governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

§ XL. The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorça, but likewise overawed the Pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the Princes in Italy against the Emperor. This Pontiff had manifested his partiality to the House of Bourbon in such a palpable manner, that his Imperial Majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the Duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the Duke of Modena, and fiefs of the Emperor, to which the Holy See had no lawful claim. The Viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome; and the Council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial, con-

containing the pretensions of his Catholick Majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the Pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the Emperor, on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared that he would assert his cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan of forming a league among the Princes and States of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita-Vecchia, in resentment for the Pope's having countenanced the Pretender's expedition to Great Britain: but as the Emperor and Duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the Court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English Admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negociation. The Marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but the Pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the Emperor at defiance; and his troops having surprised a body of Imperialists, were so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The Duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the Emperor, which had served under that Prince, were ordered to march into the Papal territories, and drove the forces of his Holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated: and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the Pope's courage failed; he was glad to admit the Marquis de Prie as Envoy from the Emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the Imperial troops with winter-quarters in the Papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to King Charles; and to allow at all times a passage to the Imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the Electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak, that they could not undertake any thing

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thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the Emperor and the malcontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the King of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the Czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submission with which that Monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West-Indies Commodore Wager destroyed the Admiral of the galleons, and took the Rear-Admiral on the coast of Carthagena. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

§ XLI. The Court of England was about this time not a little disquieted, by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the Count de Matueof, the Muscovite Ambassador. He was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the Earl of Feversham. Incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. The Queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. Secretary Boyle assured him, in the Queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and family; refused the ordinary presents at his departure; and retired to Holland. From thence

thence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar to the Queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the person of his Ambassador. Such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the Queen and her ministry were extremely perplexed, and held several councils, to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. On the twenty-eighth day of October, Prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a Prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the Queen, who during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the Earl of Pembroke was created Lord High-Admiral, the Earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and Lord Somers appointed President of the Council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the Whig noblemen, the Duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the Queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration. CHAP. IX. 1708.

§ XLII. The new Parliament, in which the Whig interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth day of November; when they were given to understand, by a commission under the great seal, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Master of the Horse, were appointed to represent the person of her Majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the House so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow being chosen Speaker of the Lower House with the Queen's approbation, the Chancellor, in a speech to

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both Houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her Majesty hoped they would enable her to make a considerable augmentation for preserving and improving the advantages which the Allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the Union effectual; and that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both Houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of Prince George, and the success of her Majesty's arms during the last campaign, the Commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the Whig faction. Then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply; they approved of an augmentation of ten thousand men which was judged necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war; and they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. The Bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in Exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one-and-twenty years; and that their stock of two millions two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-thirds subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

§ XLIII. Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the House considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish Peers, excluded from sitting in the Parliament of Great-Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed, and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William Lord

Lord Haddo, and James Lord Johnstown. Petitions were likewise presented to the House of Lords by some Scottish Peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the House, upon a division, determined that a Scottish Lord created a Peer of Great Britain should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish Peers and Commoners that sat in the British Parliament were divided into two factions. The Duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the Queen and the Lord-Treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. His influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all Protestants was brought into the House, and notwithstanding violent opposition from the Tories, both among the Lords and Commons, was enacted into a law. The Whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned: but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The Tories pleaded that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution; that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and, in times of war, act as spies and enemies: that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of Parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race: that they

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would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the labourers and tradesmen of England.

§ XLIV. An inquiry being set on foot in both Houses, concerning the late intended invasion of Scotland, Lord Haversham and the other Tory members endeavoured to demonstrate, that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the Pretender's design: that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the Government, on pretended suspicion of high-treason; though, in all probability, the aim of the ministry, in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of their opposing the Court at the ensuing elections for members of Parliament. These assertions were supported by many incontested facts and shrewd arguments, notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint address to the Queen, containing resolutions, That timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her Majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad. A bill, however, was brought into the House of Lords, under the title of "An Act for improving the Union "of the two kingdoms." It related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation. The Scottish members opposed it as an encroachment upon the form of their laws: and they were joined by those who had laid it down as a maxim to oppose all the Court measures: nevertheless, the bill passed through both Houses, and received the Royal assent. Yet, in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the Queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high-seas: an exception levelled at those who had embarked

embarked with the Pretender. Major-General Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honour, in a partial representation of the battle of Wynendale, transmitted by Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the House of Commons for the great and eminent services which he had performed in that engagement. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the Duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the Lords and Commons congratulated the Queen on this last effort of a glorious campaign; and the Duke, at his arrival, was thanked, in the name of the Peers, by the Lord Chancellor. As he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two Houses, in an address, desired the Queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The Queen promised to comply with their request. But she was not a little surprised at the next address they presented, humbly entreating, that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. She told them, that the provision she had made for the Protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom; but the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

Burnet. Daniel. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. Hist. Tindal. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Feuquieres Quincy. Lives of the Admirals. Hare. Voltaire.

§ XLV. The laws having been found insufficient to punish capitally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite Ambassador, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for preserving the privileges of Ambassadors and other foreign Ministers; and passed through both Houses: as did another, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the publick,

a prac-

BOOK I. a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation: and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the Commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds, for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion: and on the twenty-first day of April the Parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite Ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. Secretary Boyle, who at last owned, that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was tried in the Court of King's-Bench for her Majesty against Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of Ambassadors was to be argued next term before the Judges. Meanwhile, the Queen, by way of satisfaction to the Czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her Ambassador: to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the Czar and his Ambassador declared themselves well satisfied. The Convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new Parliament: but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the Lower House, the Queen, by writ to the Archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the Session of Parliament was finished.

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§ I. THE French King was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his Grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He dispatched the President Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of Peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the States-General, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the Pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda, at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The States immediately communicated his proposals to the Courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately dispatched a courier to Paris, for further instructions; and

and the Duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the Queen acquainted with the progress of the negociation. Louis, in order to convince the States of his sincerity, sent the Marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh offers, to which the Deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the Queen of Great-Britain. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the Lord Viscount Townshend, as ambassador extraordinary, and joint-Plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French Minister declared that his Master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the Pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the Queen's title and the Protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the Places in the Netherlands which the States-General demanded for their barrier: that he would treat with the Emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburg. The ministers of the Allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the Empire; upon the French Monarch's restoring Strasburgh in its present condition; upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle, demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort-Louis, and Hunningen. In a word, their demands were so insolent, that Louis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the last degree of distress. One can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that Monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging dispatches he had

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received from the President Rouillé, after his first conferences with the Deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest, as to reject the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive that they would choose to bear the burthen of excessive taxes in prosecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself, that the Allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a balance of power, as to throw such an enormous weight into the scale of the House of Austria, which cherished all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles without the liberality of sentiment peculiar to the House of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands, Louis fell in his condescension. His Secretary of State, the Marquis de Torcy, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport. He solicited, he soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his Sovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. He found these Generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the Duke of Marlborough on his weakest side: he offered to that nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions. The proposal was rejected. The Duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at Court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could support his influence in England. Torcy was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted: that Louis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to those articles upon which they insisted as preliminaries. The French King was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated

pangs

pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the Allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their Monarch. They exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support: and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonourable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world. The preliminaries being rejected by the French King, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours; and the Generals of the Confederates resolved to open the campaign without further hesitation. CHAP. X. 1709.

§ II. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lisle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time, the Mareschal Villars, accounted the most fortunate General in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up entrenchments. The Confederate Generals having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly, they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh day of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and Lieutenant de Surville, the Governor,

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vernor, possessed such admirable talents, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the Allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the Court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifth day of September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and animosity. On the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the Duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the Allies should be released.

§ III. The next object that attracted the eyes of the Confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved

resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Scheldt on the third day of September, and detached the Prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh day of September, Mareschal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The Duke of Marlborough having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the Prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the ninth the Allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other, that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The Confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the Allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple entrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, entrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the Confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have proved more decisive, for they had not then begun to secure the camp; but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and in the mean time the French fortified themselves with incredible diligence and dispatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the Confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the

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centre: and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by General Schuylemburgh, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions under Count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Taniere. The Prince of Orange and Baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy, posted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three entrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first entrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The Prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the Confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory the Allies had ever purchased. About twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half that number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the Allies, Count Lottum, General Tettau, Count Oxienstern, and the Marquis of Tullibardine were killed,

killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: Lieutenant-General Webb received a shot in the groin. The Duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, his hat, and perriwig. In the French army the Chevalier de St. George charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The Mareschal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the Confederates would certainly have been defeated. CHAP. X. 1709.

§ IV. Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the Court of Great-Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had entrenched themselves; but Prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange, whose aim through this whole war, was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the Allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter-quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the Count de Borgh, and a body of troops under Count Merci, who had passed the Rhine, in order to penetrate into Franche-compté. The Imperial officer was worsted in this en-

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counter, with the loss of two thousand men; obliged to repass the river, and retire to Fribourg. In Piedmont, Velt-Mareschal Thaun commanded the Confederates, in the room of the Duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field until some differences, which had arisen between the Emperor and him, should be adjusted. Thaun's design was to besiege Briançon: but the Duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French General were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malcontents in the Vivarez. They were entirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broke alive upon the wheel; three-and-twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the gallies. The Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, under various pretences, in hopes that the campaign would prove favourable to the House of Bourbon; till at length the Emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter-quarters in the Ecclesiastical State, his Holiness solemnly owned Charles as King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

§ V. The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the Allies. On the seventh of May, the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards, under the command of the Mareschal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during a whole winter. At length the Chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the Governor, to understand, that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine; he told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended: and allowed

allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that savoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the centinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed, and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then General Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, General Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter-quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Pultowa, in which the King of Sweden was entirely defeated by the Czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the Kings of Denmark and Prussia, to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the Emperor and maritime powers prevented

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vented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guarantee for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the King of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound of Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolters were routed in many petty engagements.

§ VI. Though the events of the summer had been less unfavourable to France than Louis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister, Torcy, maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum, resident of the Duke of Holstein at the Hague: he proposed to this minister, that the negociation should be renewed; and demanded passes by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland. In the mean time, the French King withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the Allies in that particular: though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recal those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-General refused to grant passes to the French Ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim King Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the Duke of Alba, and Count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers: but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the Duke of Marlborough; and the Marquis de Torcy renewed

newed his attempts upon that General: but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, That those motives which influenced the French before the campaign was opened, no longer subsisted: That the winter season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the Allies had pretended to impose: That, nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented, and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the Allies on the first day of January. The States-General inveighed against this memorial, as a proof of the French King's insincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and they wrote pressing letters on the subject to all their allies.

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§ VII. The Parliament of Great-Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November, the Queen in her speech told both Houses, That the enemy had endeavoured, by false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the Allies: That God Almighty had been pleased to bless the Arms of the Confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained, by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The Parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They presented congratulatory addresses: They thanked the Duke of Marlborough

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borough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the Commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late Archbishop of York, complained to the House of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing positions contrary to Revolution principles, to the present government, and the Protestant succession. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of High-churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the Dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the Judges; on the fifth day of November in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and Dissenters; declared the Church was dangerously attacked by her enemies; and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrad, the Lord-Mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the House of Commons by Sir Peter King, and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read: the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the House, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the

the Lord-Mayor to print that which was intitled, "The Perils of False Brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The Doctor being ordered to withdraw, the House resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved, That the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her Majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of the House; and they presented an address to the Queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadley, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The Queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to their recommendation. Hoadley was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor of London, had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late Revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the High-churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and in the course of the controversy, acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as Bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the Lord-Treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

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§ VIII. The Doctor being impeached at the bar of the Upper-House, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the Commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Meanwhile the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the Church; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even credited by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The ministers magnified the dangers to which the Church was exposed, from Dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm Prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which, in a little time, would produce universal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over, to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity bestowed upon those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the Deputy-usher of the Black Rod.; but, afterwards, the Lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavoured to justify or extenuate. The Commons having sent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the

the twenty-seventh day of February, for the trial in Westminster-hall. CHAP. X.

§ IX. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the Queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, Solicitor-General, Sir Peter King, Recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, Treasurer of the Navy. The Doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The Queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless "your Majesty and the Church. We hope your "Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the Doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among these some members of parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting houses; plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of Wharton, and the Bishop of Sarum. They even proposed to attack the Bank; so that the Directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the train-bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The Commons entreated the Queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by Papists, Non-jurors, 1709.

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jurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high-treason. Two of them were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The Commons presented another address of thanks to her Majesty, for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare that the prosecution of the Commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present established and protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the Doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the Protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetical expressions endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the Queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the Queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

§ X. On the tenth day of March, the Lords being adjourned to their own house, the Earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, "Whether, "in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes "and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the "particular words supposed to be criminal are

"necessary

"necessary to be expressly specified in such im- CHAP. X.
"peachments?". The Judges being consulted, 1709.
were unanimously of opinion, that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the Lords having suggested, that the Judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of Parliament, the House resolved, that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of Parliament. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Queen being in the House incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the Commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The Earl of Wharton observed, that the Doctor's speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon: that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous: that the doctrine of passive-obedience, as urged by the Doctor, was not reconcileable to the practice of church-men: that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murther, rapine, and injustice; and that the Queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown, was her parliamentary title, founded upon the Revolution. He was answered by the Lord Haversham in a long speech. Lord Ferrars said, if the Doctor was guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The Earl of Scarborough observed, the Revolution was a nice point, and above the law: he moved, that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they gave judgment. Doctor Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion that this maxim ought to be concealed from

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the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist: that the Revolution was not to be boasted of or made a precedent; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication. He said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution: that those who examined the Revolution too nicely, were no friends to it; and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive-obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The Duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the King's power, in order to govern him the more easily; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politicks. The Earl of Anglesey owned the Doctor had preached nonsense; but said, that was no crime. The Duke of Leeds distinguished between resistance and revolution; for had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The Bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the States-General, in resisting their different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her parliaments and her convocations. He observed that King Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion; that Manwaring incurred a severe censure from the Parliament for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that though this became a favourite maxim after the restoration, yet its warmest asserters were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the Tory interest, declared that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon;

sermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, accused Sacheverel of having made a strange and false representation of the design for a comprehension, which had been set on foot by Archbishop Sancroft, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the Church of England. He was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preaching, as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animosities that would endanger both Church and State. Dr. Trimnel, Bishop of Norwich, expatiated on the insolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned Archbishop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the discipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's presumption in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted for offending against the law, by those who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and before their Lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the fourth article, the Bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the Revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the Queen herself; since her Majesty had so great a share in the first: had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the Doctor's reflecting upon her Majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble Peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger Peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm upon the Lord-Treasurer, whom

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Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous Bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the Chancellor, interposing, declared that no Peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

§ XI. After obstinate disputes, and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four-and-thirty Peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years; his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the Lord-Mayor and the two Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The Lords likewise voted, that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the convocation of the University of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of Princes. A like sentence was denounced by the Commons upon a book intituled, "Collections of Passages referred to by Dr. Sache-"verel, in his Answer to the Articles of Impeach-"ment:" These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel, as proofs that the Church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends considered as a victory obtained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the Queen ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both Houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session. She declared that no Prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the Church.

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Church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the Church was in danger by her administration. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XII. The French King, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the Allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the States-General, that the negociation might be resumed. In order to facilitate their consent, he dispatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria should be re-established in their estates and dignities. These overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and Queen of Great-Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the Marquis de Torcy, intimating, that the Allies required his most Christian Majesty should declare, in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to King Charles in the space of two months. He said, the Allies would send passports to the French ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He signified his consent, and appointed the Mareschal D'Uxelles and the Abbé Polignac his plenipotentiaries. They were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the Deputies Buys and Vanderdussen at Gertruydenburgh. Meanwhile, the States desired the Queen of England to send over the Duke of Marlborough, to assist them with his advice in these conferences. The two Houses of Parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her Majesty; who told them she had already given directions for his departure; and said she was glad

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glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the Duke's eminent services. Both the letter and the addresses were procured by the interest of Marlborough to let the Queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

§ XIII. The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean; their letters were opened; and they were daily insulted by injurious libels. The Dutch Deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negociation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French King could not with decency, or the least regard to his honour, wage war against his own grandson: the deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria; and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted. Louis proposed that some small provision should be made for the Duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being disagreeable to the Allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged that Naples was already in possession of the House of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promised to supply the Confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expence of expelling that Prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace. The substance of

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all the conferences was communicated to Lord Townshend, and Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the Pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, more averse than ever to a pacification. The negociation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many dispatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles. At length, the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the Pensionary, in which they declared, that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope, that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprised, would be productive of a more reasonable pacification. The States-General resolved, That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negociation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies: and, in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and disunion among the Allies. Lord Townshend, in a memorial, assured them, that the Queen entirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negociation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the Christian world.

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§ XIV. The conferences did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble

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assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabrant. On the twentieth of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the Confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The Allies having laid bridges over the scarp, the Duke of Marlborough with his division passed the river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douay, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Mareschal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger, by carrying arms in the service. The Mareschal having assembled all his forces, passed the Scheldt, and encamped at Bouchan, declaring that he would give battle to the Confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the Allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the Confederates he marched back to the Heights of St. Lawrence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was, by continual alarms, to interrupt the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults: but still proceeded with unremitted vigour, until the besieged, being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong

strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth day of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars marched out of his entrenchments with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement: some warm skirmishes, however, happened between the foragers of the two armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the Allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up, and marched into winter-quarters. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XV. The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event; nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont. The Duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humour, the command of the forces still continued vested in Count Thaun, who endeavoured to pass the Alps, and penetrated into Dauphine: but the Duke of Berwick had cast up entrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the Imperial General. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragoons in the army of King Charles, headed by General Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew General Amessaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were entirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favour of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth of day of August, the enemy were totally defeated; five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip

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with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his Queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered forces, so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of a short duration. Stanhope proposed that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French King could send troops to Spain; but this salutary scheme was rejected. King Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

§ XVI. While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the King of France, at the request of Philip, sent the Duke De Vendôme to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned General. The Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favour of their sovereign; so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa, he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the Courts of Vienna and Great-Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremberg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition,

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he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three Lieutenant-generals, one Major-general, one Brigadier, with all the Colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; for if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according to the advice of General Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he had detached his aide-du-camp, with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army; and Staremberg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremberg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily from motives of envy to the English General, who had surrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villa-viciosa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number. Staremberg's left wing was utterly defeated, all the infantry that composed it having been either cut in pieces or taken: but the victors, instead of following the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremberg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valour and perseverance till night. Then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot: but the Allies had suffered so severely, that the General could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by the Duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled

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pelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the Duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced notwithstanding the severity of the weather; so that Philip from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was atchieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the Earl of Galway returned to England by the Queen's permission. The operations of the British fleet, during this summer, were so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve notice. Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and with a view to support the Camisars, who were in arms in the Cevennes, sailed to Port Cette, within a leagues of Marseilles, and at the distance of fifteen from the insurgents. The place surrendered, without opposition, to about seven hundred men that landed under the command of Major-General Saissan, a native of Languedoc. He likewise made himself master of the town and castle of Ayde; but the Duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join the Duke de Roquelaire, who commanded in those parts, the English abandoned their conquests, and re-embarked with precipitation. After the battle of Pultowa the Czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia: but he and King Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The King of Sweden continued at Bender, and the Grand Signor interested himself so much in favour of that Prince, as to declare war against the Emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets, with various success. The malcontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer: but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks: and expected engineers and money from the French Monarch.

§ XVII.

§ XVII. In England, the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the Whig Ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the Dissenters. From all part of the kingdom addresses were presented to the Queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon anti-monarchical and republican principles. At the same time counter-addresses were procured by the Whigs extolling the Revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present Parliament. The Queen began to express her attachment to the Tories, by mortifying the Duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the Earl of Essex she wrote to the General, desiring that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman should be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the Dutchess of Marlborough in the Queen's friendship, and was, in effect, the source of this political revolution. The Duke represented to her Majesty, in person, the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with his Sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonstrance the Queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. The Earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the Duke retired in disgust to Windsor. The Queen appeared at Council without taking the least notice of his absence, which did not fail to alarm the whole Whig faction. Several noblemen ventured to speak to her Majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of disobliging a man

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a man who had done such eminent services to the nation. She told them his services were still fresh in her memory: and that she retained all her former kindness for his person. Hearing, however, that a popular clamour was raised, and that the House of Commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the Earl of Godolphin to write to the Duke, to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had sent a letter to the Queen; desiring she would permit him to retire from business. In answer to this petition, she assured him his suspicions were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council. The Duchess demanded an audience of her Majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the Queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost. She protested, argued, wept, and supplicated; but the Queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future. All the humiliation of the Duchess served only to render herself the more contemptible. The Queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion, and all she would vouchsafe, was a repetition of these words, "You desired no answer, and "you shall have none:" alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the Duchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of Lord Chamberlain was transferred from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence with Mr. Harley. The interest of the Duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismission of his own son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, from the post of Secretary of State, in which he was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. The Queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The Duke of Beaufort went to Court on this occasion, and told her Majesty he was extremely glad that he could now salute her Queen in reality. The whole Whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the Bank represented to her Majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to publick credit from a change of the ministry. The Emperor and the States-General interposed in this domestick Revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The Queen assured them, that, whatever changes might be made, the Duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the Earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the Treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and Under-treasurer. The Earl of Rochester was declared President of the council, in the room of Lord Somers: the staff of Lord Steward being taken from the Duke of Devonshire, was given to the Duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the Secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The Lord Chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which the Queen conferred on the Duke of Ormond. The Earl of Orford withdrew himself from the Board of Admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed Secretary of War, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the Earl of Portmore: the Duke of Hamil-

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ton was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the Queen dissolved the Whig Parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favour of the other party.

§ XIX. To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having been presented to a benefice in North Wales, he went in procession to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the University of Oxford, and different noblemen, who while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for a new Parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished

tinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. Now the Queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both Houses of Parliament, in the hands of the Tories. When these met on the twenty-fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen Speaker without opposition. The Queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the Church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The Lords in their address promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace. The Commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her Majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her Royal crown and dignity; measures which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution, both in Church and State. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Duke of Marlborough; but the Duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the General's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the Duke should return from the continent. The Earl of Peterborough was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Imperial court: the Earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated Envoy Extraordinary to the United

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Provinces, as well as to the Council of State appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were deprived of their regiments, because in their cups they had drank confusion to the enemies of the Duke of Marlborough.

§ XX. This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the Queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy-council. Her Majesty gave him to understand, that he needed not to expect the thanks of the Parliament as formerly: and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the Queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the Queen sent a message to both Houses intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of King Charles: that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the Parliament would approve her conduct. Both Houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in their turn, engrossed the administration, and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved

trieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot wheels, was in a fews weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in publick libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question: and this consummate General was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XXI. The Lords, in their answer to the Queen's message, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavour to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the Earl of Peterborough being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope. Nowithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the House resolved, That the Earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia; That the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle at Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her Majesty. They voted that the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the Ministers, who were, therefore, justly blameable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the

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disappointment of the expedition against Toulon: That the Earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the Duke of Buckingham moved, That the thanks of the House should be given to the Earl, for his remarkable and eminent services: and these he actually received from the mouth of the Lord-Keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the Duke of Marlborough. The House, proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, That the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved, That the Earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the Queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent; and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

§ XXII. While the Lords were employed in this inquiry, the Commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines, inhabiting one house, might produce among them a contagious distemper; and in time become a charge to the publick, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the Tories, that the House

House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late Ministry. A committee was appointed to inquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the Queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, That the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the publick expence, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the publick money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in Church and State; and, That whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the Queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all Protestants; but this was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, That no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in Parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a-year; and restricting the qualification of burgess to half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the land-holders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms: a bill against which the Whigs loudly exclaimed, as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy. CHAP. X. 1710.

§ XXIII. A violent party in the House of Commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm Tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill rewarded for his services, with a precarious pension of four hundred

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dred pounds, which he enjoyed from the Queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the Queen, with a view to command more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her Majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the Court of France, and offered his services, in a letter to one Moreau, a banker, in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's Park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit, in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain "has killed Mr. Harley!" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-

council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal: but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley, by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two Houses of Parliament, in an address to the Queen, declared their belief, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her Majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction. They besought her Majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against Papists. When Harley appeared in the House of Commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the Speaker, in a florid and fulsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, That an attempt upon the life of a Privy counsellor should be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created Baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of Earl, by the noble and ancient title of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed Lord-Treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

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Burnet. Quincy. Feuquierres. Torcy. Burchet. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. His. Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals. Voltaire.

§ XXIV. The Commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by King William, and report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed and passed that House; but the Lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the publick accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the Earl of Godolphin. They voted, That above five-and-thirty millions

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lions of the money granted by Parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of King Charles and King William. One half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the Auditor's office. The Commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the Navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be discharged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade in the South Sea, vested in the proprietors of Navy-bills, Debentures, and other publick securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South Sea Company, founded upon a chimerical supposition, that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the West-Indies. Perhaps, the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission, as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of King Charles, with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the Emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the Imperial throne. This event was, on the twentieth day of April, communicated by a message from the Queen to both Houses. She told them, that the States-General had concurred with her in a resolution to support the House of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

§ XXV. The House of Commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the Church, in consequence of an address from the Lower House of

Convocation, and a quickening message from the Queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session, the Commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the Queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said, that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the publick money: that they who of late years had the management of the Treasury were guilty of notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her Majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several Imprest Accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope, that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be entrusted with the publick money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the publick, had not her Majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her Majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves,

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1711. This representation being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project; which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burthens to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolised as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the Queen, having given the Royal assent to several publick and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both Houses. She thanked the Commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any Prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the publick debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the House of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the Church of England as by law established. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

§ XXVI. Of the Convocation which was assembled with the new Parliament, the Lower House chose Dr. Atterbury, their Prolocutor. He was an enterprising ecclesiastick, of extensive learning, acute talents, violently attached to Tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford;

ford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the Lower House of Convocation, in concert with that minister. The Queen, in a letter to the Archbishop, signified her hope, that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and prophane persons. She sent a licence under the Broad Seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the Reformation. They were ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The Bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the Church and Religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the Administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the Revolution. Another was penned by the Bishops in more moderate terms: and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two Houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, Mathematical Professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the University, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the Convocation. The Archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the Judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion, that the Convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, in a letter to the Bishops, said, that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without.

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out proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the Queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on this subject, and the affair remained in suspence. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining that the Apostolical Constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the Epistles and the Gospel.

§ XXVII. The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other Allies. He, therefore, set out for Holland in the month of February, after the Queen had assured him, that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the Deputies of the States about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay; while Mareschal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Louis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign, but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the Allies. Exclusive of all the other impositions that were laid upon that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance; but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their Prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South Sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures; while the Allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great

great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Louis obliged to submit to such terms as the Confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough passed the scarp, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by Prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This General, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the Elector of Bavaria intended to act in the Empire, the Prince, by order from the Court of Vienna, marched towards the Upper Rhine with the Imperial and Palatine troops, to secure Germany. The Duke of Marlborough repassing the scarp, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanset and the scarp to Arras, and thence along the upper scarp to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works, in such a manner, that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *Ne plus ultrà* of Marlborough.

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§ XXVIII. This nobleman advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The Duke, on the supposition that the passages of the Sanset by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the Generals Cadogan and Hompesch

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Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, to march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sanset. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons, to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the Duke, with the whole confederate army, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. There he received intelligence that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanset and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Bacá-Bachuel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars being certified of his intention, about two in the morning, decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the King's household troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined Count Hompesch. The French General immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high road between Arras and Cambray, while the Allies encamped upon the Schelde, between Ois and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarce to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so happily executed, the Duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impregnable. This stroke of the English General was extolled as a master-piece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The Field-Deputies of the States-General proposed

proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crêvecœur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the Duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprize that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the Allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege: and, in the mean time, dispatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the Duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

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§ XXIX. On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the Duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English General. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of

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known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English General, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, we must allow this was the boldest enterprize of the whole war: that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarce ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the Duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

§ XXX.

§ XXX. The Queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the Duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The Treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the Commons had granted one million five hundred thousand pounds for that service. All their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the Duke de Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremberg had been properly supported by the Allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The Duke of Argyle, having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit, before the British troops could take the field. At length, Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the Duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremberg was unable to follow the blow: the Duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported: but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived: and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, King Charles, leaving his Queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an inter-

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view with the Duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised. That Prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine: but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the Electors at Frankfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen Emperor; the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the ban of the Empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration. The Czar advanced so far into Moldavia that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency, he found means to corrupt the Grand Vizir in private, while in publick he proposed articles of peace that were accepted. The King of Sweden, who was in the Turkish army, charged the Vizir with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced. The Grand Signor threatened to renew the war; but he was appeased by the Czar's surrendering Asoph.

§ XXXI. The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North-America, planned by Colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova-Scotia, and garrisoned Porte-Royal, to which he gave the name of Anapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North-America. The ministers relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men was embarked in transports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New England, they were

were joined by two regiments of Provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished, with about eight hundred men. The Admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish-River bay, where it was determined in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paltry expedition, entrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ XXXII. In the Irish Parliament held during the summer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the Peers supported the Tory interest, while the Commons expressed the warmest attachment to Revolution principles. The two Houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps, the Chancellor, and General Ingoldsby, were appointed Justices in the absence of the Duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no scruple of professing their principles and attachments to the Pretender. The Duchess of Gordon presented the Faculty of Advocates with a silver medal, representing the Chevalier de St. George; and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto "*Reddite.*" After some debate, it was voted by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve, that the Duchess should be thanked for this token of her regard. This task was performed by Dundass of Arnistoun, who thanked her Grace for having presented them with a medal of their Sovereign Lord

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the King; hoping, and being confident, that her Grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the King and Royal family, upon the finishing rebellion, usurping tyranny, and whiggery. An account of this transaction being laid before the Queen, the Lord-Advocate was ordered to inquire into the particulars. Then the Faculty were so intimidated, that they disowned Dundass, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and by a solemn act they declared their attachment to the Queen and the Protestant succession. The Court was satisfied with this atonement: but the Resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the Queen, desiring that Dundass and his associates might be prosecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of Lord-Advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents: and no further inquiry was made into the affair.

§ XXXIII. For some time a negociation for peace had been carrying on between the Court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure: namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. They foresaw the risque they would run by entering into such measures, should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy: they knew the Whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamour against the treaty. But their motives for treating were such as prompted them to undervalue all those difficulties and dangers. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of com-

merce for the subjects of Great-Britain, as would silence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in Parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favour of the Pretender, whose succession to the Crown would have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The Earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the Queen's earnest desire of peace, representing the impossibility of a private negociation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection, and desiring that Louis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English Plenipotentiaries should have such instructions, that it would be impossible for the States-General to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to Count Gallas, the Imperial Ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French ministry, since the commencement of hostilities. His connexion with Lord Jersey was by means of that nobleman's lady, who professed the Roman Catholick religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the Court of Versailles. He returned to London, with a letter of compliment from the Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the States-General. Gualtier wrote a letter to Versailles, desiring in the name of the English ministry, that his Most Christian Majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the States-General, that they might negociate in concert with their Allies. A general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland.

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Holland. In the the mean time, the Pensionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland. Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his Majesty would resume the negociation, in concert with the Queen of Great-Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This proposal Louis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.

§ XXXIV. The States-General having perused the memorial, assured Queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French King would communicate a more particular plan for securing the interest of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accompanied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France, as Secretary to the embassies of the Earls of Portland and Jersey. This gentleman had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the Tory interest. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French King; and demand whether or not King Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fontainbleau, and presented the Queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the Empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her Allies. She required that the strong places taken from the Duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his Allies: that Louis should acknowledge Queen Anne and the Protestant succession; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon should be

be yielded to the Crown of England; that the Negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed. She expected security that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that Crown to the most favoured nation; that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North-America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her Majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the House of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II. who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures: she was eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people, as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and recompence them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were the sentiments of a Christian Princess; of an amiable and pious Sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with King Charles.

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§ XXXV. As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negociate, Mr. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the Board of Trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full powers to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. On his arrival in London, the Queen immediately commissioned the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French Minister, and by the two Secretaries of State, in consequence of a written order from her Majesty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the Queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war: that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace: that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the King of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood: she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The Earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the Pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the Queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the Plenipotentiaries should assemble: The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the Court of Versailles; and Mareschal Tallard being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to Count Gallas, the Emperor's minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated, and inserted in one of the daily

daily papers. This step was so much resented by the Queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the Queen gave the Emperor to understand, that any other minister he should appoint would be admitted by her without hesitation. CHAP. X. 1711.

§ XXXVI. The States of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys, as Envoy Extraordinary, to intercede with the Queen, that she would alter her resolutions; but she continued steady to her purpose; and the Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring in the Queen's name, that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the French ministers; while the Queen appointed Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new Emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the Electors and the Princes of the Empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewise desired the States-General to join councils with him in persuading the Queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war; or at least to negociate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the Marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the same purpose to the Queen of Great-Britain, who received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expence of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the Whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in

word

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word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to-day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by the other. They contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination. In the midst of this contention the Queen dispatched the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the Elector, that his succession to the Crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty. The Earl brought back an answer in writing: but, at the same time, his Electoral Highness ordered Baron de Bothmar, his Envoy in England, to present a memorial to the Queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remaining in possession of Spain and the West-Indies. This remonstrance the Baron published, by way of appeal to the people, and the Whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums: but the Queen and her ministers resented this step, as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

§ XXXVII. The proposals of peace made by the French King were disagreeable even to some individuals of the Tory party, and certain Peers, who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles. The Court being apprised of their intention, prorogued the Parliament till the seventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottish Peers, who could cast the balance in favour of the ministry. In her speech at the opening of the session, she told them, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress: and that the States-General had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate Sovereign could procure for a dutiful and

loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her Allies. She observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace, would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their consultations. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the Whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her Majesty, that, in the opinion of the House, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great-Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West-Indies should be allotted to any branch of the House of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the Earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expensive war. He affirmed that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest. This insinuation was levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the Queen sat incognito; and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honour to serve her Majesty as General and Plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject. He declared, upon his conscience, and in presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, Whether the Earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address: it

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was

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was carried in the affirmative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented, and the Queen, in her answer, said, she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the House of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several Peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the Royal prerogative. In the address of the Commons there was no such article; and, therefore, the answer they received was warm and cordial.

§ XXXVIII. The Duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the House of Peers, as Duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the House a greater number of Scottish Peers than the Act of Union allowed. Counsel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They observed that no objection could be made to the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours; and that all the subjects of the United Kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour. The House of Lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the Duke of Queensberry upon his being created Duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides: the Scottish Peers united in defence of the Duke's claim; and the Court exerted its whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, Whether Scottish Peers, created Peers of Great-Britain since the Union, had a right to sit in that House; it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices; though not without a protest signed by the Lords in the opposition. The Scottish Peers were so incensed at this decision, that they drew up a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the Union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against

against occasional conformity was revived by the Earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both Houses by the connivance of the Whigs, upon the Earl's promise, that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second day of December, the Queen being indisposed, granted a commission to the Lord-Keeper, and some other Peers, to give the Royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The Duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all Peers to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as the Duke of Cambridge. An address was presented to the Queen, desiring she would give instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, to consult with the ministers of the Allies in Holland before the opening of the congress; that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her Majesty.

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§ XXXIX. The Commissioners for examining the publick accounts, having discovered that the Duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors of bread to the army, the Queen declared in council, that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his Duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The Duke wrote an answer to her Majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters, the Countess of Sunder-

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Sunderland and the Lady Railton, resigned their places of Ladies in the Bed-chamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the House of Lords, persuaded the Queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve Peers at once*, and on the second of January they were introduced into the Upper House without opposition. The Lord-Keeper delivered to the House a message from the Queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month. The anti-courtiers alleged, that the Queen could not send a message to any one House to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both Houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the Court by the weight of the twelve new Peers.

§ XL. At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the Queen from the Emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The

* Lord Compton and Lord Bruce, sons of the Earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the House of Peers. The other ten were these: Lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created Baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; Lord Viscount Windsor, of Ireland, made Baron Mountjoy, in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son of Lord Paget, created Baron Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, Baron Mansel of Margram, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, Baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, Baron Landsdown, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, Baron Masham, of Oats, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, Baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, Baron Bathurst, of Bathelsden, in the county of Bedford.—On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the Earl of Wharton asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

ministers,

ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction, visited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the Queen, who received him with great complacency. Having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his Highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the Treasurer and Secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The Lord-Treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The Prince is said to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your "Lordship." Alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough whom the Earl's intrigues had deprived of all military command. When Bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the Duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the Prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the Whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in publick: even in the midst of all these caresses, party riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the publick papers. The Queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and, on her birth-day, presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a

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patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the Whig noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Somers, Halifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a close connection with the Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian Envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

§ XLI. Her Majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both Houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; and that she was employed in making preparations for an early campaign: she hoped, therefore, that the Commons would proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the supplies. The Lord-Treasurer, in order to demonstrate his attachment to the Protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the Duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews to the Crown; and, when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The sixteen Peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the Upper House, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the Duke of Hamilton: but whatever pecuniary recompence they might have obtained from the Court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the Parliament. The Commons, finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their House, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the Whig interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as Secretary at War,

War, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who indorsed it, and his friend touched the money*. This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the House. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament.

§ XLII. Their next attack was upon the Duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the Queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expence of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It was alleged, in

* The Commissioners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the publick accounts, having made their report touching the conduct of Mr. Walpole, the House, after a long debate, came to the following resolutions: 1. That Robert Walpole, Esq. a member of this House, in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage of her Majesty's troops, quartered in North-Britain, made by him when Secretary at War, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late Lord-Treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. 2. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during the pleasure of this House; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly. 3. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be for the said offence also expelled the House, and that the report of the commissioners of Publick Accounts be taken into further consideration that day se'nnight.—It appeared from the depositions of witnesses that the publick had been defrauded considerably by these contracts—a very severe speech was made in the House, and next day published, reflecting upon Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worst kind of corruption; and Sir Peter King declared in the House, that he deserved hanging as well as he deserved imprisonment and expulsion.

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his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the General of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her Majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to King William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact that the Duke was never surprised: that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all the designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as publick money. These resolutions were communicated to the Queen, who ordered the Attorney-General to prosecute the Duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the Duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

§ XLIII. The Commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negociations for peace. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the Whigs of England. They diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and Secretary St. John. Buys, their Envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malcontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the House of Commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-General. They alleged that the States had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during

during the whole course of the war; and that the Queen had paid above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the Barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the States by Lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guarantied a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the Queen's title, and the Protestant succession. The Tories affirmed that England was disgraced by engaging any other State to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter: that, by this treaty, the States were authorised to interpose in British councils: that, being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain. The House of Commons voted, That in the Barrier-treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great-Britain, and therefore highly dishonourable to her Majesty: That the Lord Viscount Townshend was not authorised to conclude several articles in that treaty: that he and all those who had advised its being ratified were enemies to the Queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the Queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The States, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the Queen, representing the necessity of a barrier, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war; and it was published in one of the English papers. The Commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the House; and the printer

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and

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and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

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§ XLIV. They now repealed the naturalization act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the General Assembly to the Queen, declaring that the act for securing the Presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union. The House, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the Kirk-judicatories. The Episcopal, as well as the Presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oaths of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the Commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both from very different motives. In order to exasperate the Presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the Courts of Judicature during the Christmas holidays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion. When this bill was read for the third time Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the House is resolved to make no toleration on the body of this "bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be entituled, A bill for establishing Jacobinism and Immorality." The chagrin of the Scottish Presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of Patronage, which had been taken away when the discipline of the Kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to the Queen, touching the conduct of the Emperor during the war, and containing a proposal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen communicated the scheme to the House of Commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The Prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the ministry, as he had reason

to

to be satisfied with the people of England. The Commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions, the Treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the Revolution. His design was to make a general resumption: but as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition; notwithstanding which it would have certainly passed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford absented themselves from the House during the debate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

I. *The conferences opened at Utrecht.* § II. *The Queen's measures obstructed by the Allies.* § III. *The Death of the Dauphin and his son.* § IV. *The Queen demands Philip's renunciation of the Crown of France.* § V. *The Duke of Ormond takes the command of the British forces in Flanders.* § VI. *He is restricted from acting against the enemy.* § VII. *Debate in the House of Lords on this subject.* § VIII. *A loyal address of the Commons.* § IX. *Philip promises to renounce the Crown of France.* § X. *The Queen communicates the plan of the peace in a speech to both Houses of Parliament.* § XI. *Exceptions taken to some of the articles, in the House of Lords.* § XII. *A motion for the guaranty of the Protestant succession by the Allies rejected in the House of Commons.* § XIII. *The Duke of Ormond declares to Prince Eugene, that he can no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy.* § XIV. *Irruption into France by General Grovestein.* § XV. *The foreign troops in British pay refuse to march with the Duke of Ormond.* § XVI. *Who proclaims a cessation of arms, and besieges Ghent and Bruges.* § XVII. *The Allies defeated at Denain.* § XVIII. *Progress of the conferences at Utrecht.* § XIX. *The Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun are killed in a duel. The Duke of Marlborough retires to the Continent.* § XX. *The States-General sign the Barrier-treaty.* § XXI. *The other allies become more tractable.* § XXII. *The peace with France signed at Utrecht.* § XXIII. *Both Houses of Parliament congratulate the Queen on the peace.* § XXIV. *Substance of the treaty with France.* § XXV. *Objections to the treaty of commerce.* § XXVI. *Debates in the House of Lords on the malt-tax for Scotland. The Scottish Lords move for a bill to dissolve the Union.* § XXVII. *Address*

dress of the Commons about Dunkirk. § XXVIII. *Violence of parties in England.* § XXIX. *Proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland.* § XXX. *New Parliament in England. Writers employed by both parties.* § XXXI. *Treaty of Rastadt between the Emperor and France.* § XXXII. *Principal articles in the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain. Meeting of the Parliament.* § XXXIII. *The House of Lords take cognizance of a libel against the Scots.* § XXXIV. *Mr. Steel expelled the House of Commons.* § XXXV. *Precautions by the Whigs for the security of the Protestant succession.* § XXXVI. *Debates in the House of Lords concerning the Pretender and the Catalans.* § XXXVII. *They address the Queen to set a price on the head of the Pretender.* § XXXVIII. *A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge.* § XXXIX. *Death of the Princess Sophia. Bill to prevent the growth of Schism.* § XL. *Another against all who should list, or be inlisted in a foreign service.* § XLI. *The Parliament prorogued.* § XLII. *The Treasurer disgraced.* § XLIII. *Precautions taken for securing the peace of the kingdom.* § XLIV. *Death and character of Queen Anne.*

§ I. IN the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The Earl of Jersey would have been appointed the Plenipotentiary for England, but he dying after the correspondence with the Court of France was established, the Queen conferred that charge upon Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch Deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderdussen; the French King granted his powers to the Mareschal D'Uxelles, the Abbot (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England. The ministers of the Emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the Empire and the other allies

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allies likewise sent their Plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all these powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannick Majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The Queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish, in spite of all opposition. She had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The Emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least title of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected. The Queen saw that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to much greater danger from an actual union of the Imperial and Spanish Crowns in one head of the House of Austria, than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the House of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation. She was well acquainted with the distresses of the French, which she considered as pledges of their Monarch's sincerity. She sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair. The dictates of true policy dissuaded her from contributing to further conquest in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the Allies, depressed the House of Bourbon below the standard of importance which the balance

of

of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandize the States-General at the expence of Great-Britain. As she had borne the chief burthen of the war, she had a right to take the lead, and dictate a plan of pacification; at least, she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no longer sustain; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence, to think she could not obtain advantageous conditions. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ II. Such were the sentiments of the Queen; and her ministers seem to have acted on the same principles, though perhaps party motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The Allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition. They practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the Queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures, and obstructed her design. Her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood. The Queen's health was much impaired; and the successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of their Sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands; they saw no hope of safety, except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries; or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct, before death should deprive them of their Sovereign's protection. With this view they advised her to set on foot a private negociation with Louis

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to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies. The plan was judiciously formed; but executed with too much precipitation. The stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist upon; and without all doubt, better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the Allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the Whig faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

§. III. The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the Queen had made with the French Monarch, touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty. This secret plan of negociation, however, had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Louis. The Dauphin had died of the small-pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his son, the Duke of Burgundy; who now expired on the last day of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring, the Duke of Bretagne, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the Duke of Burgundy's children none remained alive but the Duke of Anjou, the late French King, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Louis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the Queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies

monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent. She therefore sent the Abbe Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed, should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding, that his title should be transferred to his brother, the Duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ IV. Meanwhile the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specifick offers, which the Allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Halifax, in the House of Peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her Majesty and her Allies. An Address was presented to the Queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honourable peace should be obtained. The Plenipotentiaries of the Allies were not less extravagant in their specifick demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruitless conferences, while the Queen of Great-Britain endeavoured to engage the States-General in her measures, that they might treat with France upon moderate terms, and give law to the rest of the Allies. She departed from some of her own pretensions, in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the Congress to tell them, that she would take her measures according to the return they

should

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should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand, that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition, That they should come into her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the Allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specifick demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their Master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France, was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived; and produced a cessation of arms.

§ V. In the mean time the Duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order, that he should not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority; and determined to procure a peace at all events. The Queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation off affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March, the Earl of Albemarle, having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May, the Duke of Ormond conferred with the deputies of the States-General at the Hague, and assured

assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined Prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth day of May, the allied army, passing the Schelde, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The Imperial General proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the Duke was restrained from hazarding a siege or battle; a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from Prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith dispatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the Duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience of such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation: and in a letter to Secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the Queen would permit him to return to England.

§ VI. Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the Queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the Duke furnished towards this enterprize seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great-Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the Bishop of Bristol upon the Duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that Prelate told them, that he had lately received an express, with a letter from her Majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct, as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the Queen and the States-General, the Bishop declared his instructions further imported that, considering the conduct of the States towards her Majesty, she thought

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thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightinesses. The States and the ministers of the Allies were instantly in commotion. Private measures were concerted with the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the Empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers in the pay of Great-Britain. The States-General wrote a long letter to the Queen, and ordered their Envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzerdorf, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, dispatched expresses to his master, to Prince Eugene, and to the Imperial Ambassador at London. The Queen held a council at Kensington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the Duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the General of the Allies in a siege.

§ VII. On the twenty-eighth day of May, Lord Halifax, in the House of Peers, descanted upon the ill consequences of the Duke's refusing to cooperate with Prince Eugene, and moved for an address, desiring her Majesty would order the General to act offensively, in concert with her allies. The Treasurer observed it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The Earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the Duke of Ormond had received orders to join the Allies in a siege, the Duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprize. The Duke of Argyle having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater Captain than Prince Eugene of Savoy, observed, that, considering the different interests of the House of

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Austria and of Great Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might entirely break off a negociation of peace, which in all probability was near being concluded. He added, that two years before, the Confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The Duke of Devonshire said he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the Duke of Ormond: and, therefore, could not help expressing his surprise, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Paulet answered, that nobody could doubt the Duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain General, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. The Duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that though he suppressed his resentment in the House, he took the first opportunity to send Lord Mohun to the Earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his Lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and desiring his company to take the air in the country. The Earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State. Two sentinels were immediately placed at his Lordship's gate: the Queen, by the channel of Lord Dartmouth, desired the Duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel; and he assured her he would punctually obey her Majesty's commands. The Earl of Oxford assured the House, that a separate

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peace was never intended; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous, that every one who served the Queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation: but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the Allies. The question being put for adjourning, was, after a long debate carried in the affirmative; but twenty Lords entered a protest. The Earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed, that they should examine the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negociations the French ministers had conferred only with the Pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the Allies than what was judged proper to let them know; so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted that the States-General had consented to give Naples and Sicily to King Philip; a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her Majesty, desiring that the papers relating to the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg should be laid before the House. This was carried without a division.

§ VIII. In the House of Commons Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her Majesty that her faithful Commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her General in Flanders had declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies; and beseeching her Majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated, that the present negociation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. Secretary St. John

St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great-Britain: that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The House resolved, That the Commons had an entire confidence in her Majesty's promise, to communicate to her Parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded; and, That they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavour to obstruct the pacification. The Queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negociations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries.

§ IX. The ministry foreseeing that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative, that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the Duke of Savoy; that Philip, in the mean time, should possess the Duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with Montserrat and Mantua; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the House of Austria. Louis seemed to relish this expedient, which, however, was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation, rather than quit the throne upon which he was established. The

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Queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the States of France: but she afterwards waved this demand, in consideration of its being registered in the different Parliaments. Such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interest of princes. The Marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was of itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the King of Spain; the commerce of Great-Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Ormond acted in concert with Mareschal de Villars.

§ X. On the sixth day of June the Queen, going to the House of Peers, communicated the plan of peace to her parliament, according to the promise she had made. After having premised, that the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the Crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both Crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them she had secured the Protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms: and that the Pretender would be removed from the French dominions; that the Duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself: that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation; and in France, the persons intitled to the succession of that Crown upon

upon the death of the Dauphin, were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted: but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favoured nation; that the French King had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova-Scotia; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca; to let the trade of Spain in the West-Indies be settled as it was in the reign of his late Catholick Majesty: she signified that she had obtained for her subjects the assiento, or contract, for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With respect to the Allies, she declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine, and in the islands of that river; that the Protestant interest in Germany would be re-settled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia: that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his imperial Majesty; but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined: that the demands of the States-General with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients; that no great progress had yet been made

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made upon the pretensions of Portugal; but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty; that the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very inconsiderable: that the Elector Palatine should maintain his present rank among the Electors; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the House of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the Queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects, for the great and unequal burthen they had borne during the whole course of the war. She concluded with saying, she made no doubt but they were fully persuaded, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of this negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the entire confidence and cheerful concurrence of her Parliament.

§ XI. An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the Queen by the Commons in a body. When the House of Lords took the speech into consideration, the Duke of Marlborough asserted, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her Majesty's engagements with the Allies: that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. The Earl of Strafford said, that some of the Allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, Lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested, as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member

member of that august assembly, to hold correspon- CHAP. XI.
dence with the allies of the nation; such allies, 1712.
especially, whose interest her Majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of the session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the Allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any persons whatsover becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their Sovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate but a slave to the alliance. The Earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade of Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration: and that it would continually diminish, until it should be entirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the Queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her parliament; and expressed an entire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her Majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guarantee. A debate ensued, the question was put, and the clause rejected. Several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged from the Journals of the House by the decision of the majority.

§. XII. In the House of Commons, a complaint was exhibited against Bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he had published, took

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took occasion to extol the last ministry, at the expence of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition among her Majesty's subjects, and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They presented an address to the Queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the States-General to her Majesty; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorial that should be thus ushered into the world, as inflammatory appeals to the publick. Mr. Hampden moved for an address to her Majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with her Majesty might be guarantees for the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of Hanover. The question being put, was carried in the negative. Then the House resolved, That they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her Majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the Protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt of her taking the proper measures for the security thereof: that the House would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her Majesty and her subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The Queen was extremely pleased with this resolution. When it was presented, she told them, that they had shewn themselves honest asserters of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the Protestant succession. She thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a Prince who had caballed

caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty-first day of June the Queen closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received: she observed, that should the treaty be broke off, their burthens would be at least continued, if not increased; that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and that though some of the Allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. Notwithstanding the ferment of the people, which was now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses, approving the Queen's conduct, were presented by the city of London, and all the corporations in the kingdom that espoused the Tory interest. At this juncture the nation was so wholly possessed by the spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ XIII. During these transactions the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour under cover of the forces commanded by the Duke of Ormond. This nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles signed by the Marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the Queen, signified to Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French King had agreed to several articles demanded by the Queen, as the foundation of an armistice: and among others to put the English troops in immediate possession of Dunkirk; that he could therefore no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops, and those in the Queen's pay, and declare a suspension of arms as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk. He expressed his hope, that they would readily acquiesce in these instructions, seeing their concurrence would act as the most powerful motive to induce the Queen to take all possible

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sible care of their interests at the Congress: and he endeavoured to demonstrate, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the Allies than Quesnoy. The Deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and he granted three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the Queen's pay, would leave the Allies at the mercy of the enemy; but he hoped these last would not obey the Duke's order. He and the Deputies had already tampered with their commanding Officers, who absolutely refused to obey the Duke of Ormond, alleging, that they could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the States was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the Allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the Princes whose troops were in the pay of Britain assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of Prince Eugene for one month at their own expence, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the Emperor and States-General.

§ XIV. The Bishop of Bristol imparted to the other Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the Allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the Confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial Plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms: and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal

renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardour. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the Confederates with some bold enterprize, detached Major-General Grovestein, with fifteen hundred cavalry to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the King of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein, as soon as he understood his destination: but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close, that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, Major-General Pasteur, a French partisan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the island of Tortola belonging to Zealand. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ XV. The Earl of Strafford having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-General, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the Duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. The officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the Duke; and such a spirit of animosity began to prevail between the English and Allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake

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dertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German Generals to confine the Duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and to disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the mean time a literary correspondence was maintained between the English General and the Mareschal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh day of July; the French garrison retired to Winoxberg. On the sixteenth of the same month Prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons, belonging to the State of Liege.

§ XVI. Landrecy was immediately invested: while the Duke of Ormond, with the English forces, removed from Chateau Cambresis, and encamping at Avensne-le-Secq, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the Governors would not allow the Earl of Strafford to enter Bouchain, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores, together with their general hospital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch Deputies, understanding that the Duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent Count Nassau Woodenburgh to him with a written apology, condemning and disavowing the conduct and commandants of Bouchain and Douay: but, notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle: insults

which were resented by the whole British nation. The Duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the Queen of England: then he reinforced the garrison of Dunkirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his Sovereign, than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted and anticipated by the motions and expeditions of the British General. CHAP. XI. 1712.

§ XVII. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The Earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and considerable booty fell into the hands of the enemy; this advantage they gained in sight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Schelde to sustain Albemarle: but the bridge over that river was broke down by acident; so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Merchiennes, where the principal stores of the Allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July: and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprize, in consequence of which Prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The States, however, would not run the risque; and the Prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking

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retaking Quesnoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October. The Allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses, but the conquest of Fort Knocque, which was surprised by one of their partisans.

§ XVIII. The British ministers at the Congress continued to press the Dutch and other Allies to join in the armistice: but they were deaf to the proposal, and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Then the Earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting to the Congress the Plenipotentiaries of King Philip: but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August, Secretary St. John, now created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles incognito, to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the Abbé Gualtier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, caressed by the French King and the Marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria. He settled the time and manner of the renunciation, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. The negociation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as Resident at the court of France. The States-General breathed nothing but war: the Pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, represented the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domesticks of Menager, and those of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries. The populace insulted the Earl of Strafford and the

Marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British Plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetorick, both in publick and private, to engage the Allies in the Queen's measures. At length the Duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent Ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the Elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her Majesty: but that Prince's resolution was already taken. "Whenever "it shall please God (said he) to call me to the "throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me "for the advantage of my people; in the mean "time, speak to me as to a German Prince, and a "Prince of the Empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the King of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, Lord Lexington was appointed Ambassador to Madrid, where King Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the Princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the Marquis de Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannick Majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the Allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked

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on

BOOK L. on board an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

1712. §. XIX. The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the Duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party disputes were become more violent than ever. The Whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late King's birth-day, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the Lord Treasurer with some squibs in a band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The Duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the Pretender. Some dispute arising between the Duke and Lord Mohun, on the subject of a law-suit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murther, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hector of the Whig party, sent a message by General Macartney to the Duke, challenging him to single combat: The principals met by appointment in Hyde-Park, attended by Macartney and Colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury, that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the Duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Macartney disappeared and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy-council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the Colonel seeing the Duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the Duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his Grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds

to

to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney, and the Duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde-Park, to murther the Duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs on the other hand affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The Duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his Duchess. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate Minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive Sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated Ambassador to France, in the room of the Duke of Hamilton: the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the Court of Versailles; and about the same time the Queen granted an audience to the Marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his Plenipotentiaries at the Congress.

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§ XX. In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the States-General, by alternate threats, promises, and arguments. In vain did they represent, that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with any prospect of success: that the Queen's

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aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the Earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the Queen promised to insist upon France's ceding to the States the city of Tournay, and some other places which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burthen which they could not bear, especially since the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive: namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the Empire from the King of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French Monarch. The Czar and King Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the King of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburgh under contribution; but Count Steenbock, the Swedish General, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburgh, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes. The Grand Signor threatened to declare war against the Czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to support the King of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, who were averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand,

stand, that the Sultan would procure him a safe pas- CHAP.
sage. He treated the person who brought this inti- XI.
mation with the most outrageous insolence; rejected 1712.
the proposal; fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantick valour. They slew some hundreds of the assailants; but at last the Turks set fire to the house: so that he was obliged to surrender himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Meanwhile the Czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himself in Tonningen until all his supplies were cut off, and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that case, they knew the Emperor would recal great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burthen of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came into the Queen's measures, and signed the Barrier treaty.

§ XXI. Then the Plenipotentiaries of the four Associated Circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the Queen's interposition in their favour, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their own disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and left the whole burthen of the war to fall upon the Queen and the States in the Netherlands: that when a ces-

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sation was judged necessary, they had deserted her Majesty to follow the chimerical projects of Prince Eugene; that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness: that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace, and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologn, were admitted to the Congress; and now the Plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the Allies.

§ XXII. The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North-America. A long dispute ensued; and the Duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry: at length it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great-Britain; and the English Plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. They declared to the Ministers of the other Powers, that they and some other Plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the States should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the Emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of Great-Britain agreed with those of France, that his Imperial

Burnet. Boyer. Hare. Lamberty. Quincy. Rousset. Torcy.

Imperial Majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals: but this time was extended no farther than the first day of June: nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval. Meanwhile the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the States-General. On the fourteenth day of the month the British Plenipotentiaries delivered to Count Zinzendorf, in writing, "Offers "and demands of the French King for making peace "with the House of Austria and the Empire." The Count and the ministers of the German Princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of Emperor on Joseph: but wanted to impose terms upon them, with relation to the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria.

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1712. Bolingbr. Voltaire. Tindal. Mil. Hist. Hist. of the Duke of Marlborough.

§ XXIII. The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the Queen of England, the Parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. The Queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She said, what she had done for the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the House of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it entirely to the House of Commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons. "Make yourselves safe (said she) and I shall "be satisfied. Next to the protection of the Divine "Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affec-"tion of my people. I want no other guarantee." She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper mea-

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sures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery, and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated: and that groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent Sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The Parliament considered her in that light. Each House presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation, expressing, in particular, their inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general. It was about this period that the Chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice. The Commons, in a second address, had besought her Majesty to communicate to the House in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

§ XXIV. By the treaty of peace the French King obliged himself to abandon the Pretender, and acknowledge the Queen's title and the Protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Chris-

St. Christopher's to England; but the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, That no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and, That Commissaries should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, That the Emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: That the Duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of King: That the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the Elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses: That the States-General should restore Lisle and its dependencies: That Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders; and, That the King of Prussia should have Upper-Gueldre, in lieu of Orange and the other states belonging to that family in Franche Compté. The King of Portugal was satisfied: and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the Emperor for consideration.

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§ XXV. A day being appointed by the Commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing, That Great-Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favoured nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from the same productions

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tions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed, that by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country were lower than those laid upon the wines of France: that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England: that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffick which they now carried on; for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly Governor of the Bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the Revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France: by which means an infinite number of artificers were employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation; but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labour was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be undersold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and,

and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course. Others alleged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the Confederates, the French King would not have presumed to insist upon such terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late Ministry, for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the House resolved, by a great majority, That a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese Minister presented a memorial, declaring, that should the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his Master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great-Britain. Indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the Whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the Confederates.

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§ XXVI. The Commons having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who represented it as a burthen which their country could not bear. They insisted upon an express article of the Union, stipulating, That no duty should be laid on the

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the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the Parliament, on account of the Whitsun-holidays, the Scots of both Houses, laying aside all party distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn to lay their grievances before the Queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the Union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burthen as the malt tax would, in all probability, prompt them to declare the Union dissolved. The Queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavour to make all things easy. On the first day of June, the Earl of Findlater, in the House of Peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a Privy-council, and subjected to the English laws in cases of treason: that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British Peers; and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burthen of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefit of peace: he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the Union, and securing the Protestant succession to the House of Hanover. Lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the Union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastick reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was answered by the Earl of Eglinton, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The Earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the Union, observed, that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted, that

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the Parliament of Great-Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The Earl of Peterborough compared the Union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the Union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed against the Scots, as a people that would never be satisfied: that would have all the advantages resulting from the Union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the Duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have "been reflected on by some people (said he) as if "I was disgusted, and had changed sides: but I "despise their persons, as much as I undervalue "their judgment." He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties. In like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland: therefore the tax in this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he had a great share in making the Union, with a view to secure the Protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the Union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the Whig members voted for the dissolution of that treaty which

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which they had so eagerly promoted; while the Tories strenuously supported the measure against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the Lord-Treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax was imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the Crown. The Earl of Sunderland expressed surprise at hearing that noble Lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotick dispensing power, and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures. Sunderland, considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate his conduct, adding, that in those days the other Lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

§ XXVII. Another bill being brought into the House of Commons, for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of Tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the House agreed to an address, thanking her Majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint Commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of

her people. The Queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment. The Commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand, that this was already in the hands of his Most Christian Majesty: then they besought her, that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were entitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great-Britain upon an equal footing with those of any other nation. The Queen made a favourable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the Parliament during this session with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the Whigs exclaimed so violently, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom; yet under the shadow of this very treaty, Great-Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastick terror of the House of Bourbon. He declared to the Queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the West-Indies were left in the hands of King Philip, must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that, if any such peace was made, the Queen was betrayed, and the people ruined: that in less than three years she would be murthered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This Prelate lived to see his prognostick disappointed; therefore, he might have suppressed this anecdote of his own conduct.

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§ XXVIII. On the twenty-fifth day of June, the Queen signified in a message to the House of Commons, that her civil list was burthened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expence;

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expence; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both Houses with some difficulty. Both Lords and Commons addressed the Queen concerning the Chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorraine. They desired she would press the Duke of that name, and all the Princes and States in amity with her, to exclude from her dominions the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain. A publick thanksgiving for the peace was appointed and celebrated with great solemnity; and on the sixteenth day of July the Queen closed the session with a speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, because it did not contain one word about the Pretender and the Protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded, that the dictates of natural affection had biassed her in favour of the Chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the House of Commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the Queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, Holbourn. On the other hand the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous ballads were published against him both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident

or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk, having sent a deputation with an address to the Queen, humbly imploring her Majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the Duke d'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The Queen, by her remonstrances to the Court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six Protestants from the gallies: understanding afterwards that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Then she appointed General Ross her Envoy extraordinary to the King of France. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XXIX. The Duke of Shrewsbury being nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the Parliament of that Kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two Houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of Whig and Tory. Allan Broderick being chosen Speaker of the Commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the Pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George;" and they agreed upon an address to the Queen, to remove from the Chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The Lords, however, resolved, that Chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two Houses of Convocation presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained

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plained of Mr. Molesworth, for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the Castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world up-"side down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy-council. The Duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this Parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestick broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps, with the Archbishop of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

§ XXX. The Parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the Tories; but the meeting of the new Parliament was delayed, by repeated prorogations, to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the Queen's indisposition; and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The Treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid; the Secretary's more shining; but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry; the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius, and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles. Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of Lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his Sovereign, while the Treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she, who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The Queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority, by turns, to appease: but their mutual

tual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the Chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement. Meanwhile the Earl of Peterborough was appointed Ambassador to the King of Sicily; and set out for Turin. The Queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the publick funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the Bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent to the Treasurer the danger that threatened the publick credit. The Queen being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer, Lord-mayor of London, declaring, that now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the Parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumours, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the publick peace and tranquillity. The Queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the Pretender still in Lorraine, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, intituled, "The Crisis," in defence of the Revolution and the Protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a Popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary right to the Crown

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of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the Pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

§ XXXI. While England was harassed by these intestine commotions, the Emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expence, with the assistance of the Empire. His forces on the Rhine commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Fribourg. His Imperial Majesty hoped that the death of Queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV. would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favourable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expence of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the Electors of Cologn and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth day of November. In the beginning of February these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the two Courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the Governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French King yielded to the Emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Fribourg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with Fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that

that and Fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the King of France, who acknowledged the Elector of Hanover. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The Emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the King of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarters of Guelders. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars were appointed their first Plenipotentiaries. CHAP. XI. 1713.

§ XXXII. The ratifications of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the Protestant succession, and renounced the Pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes, according to the assiento contract*. He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honours, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. The new Parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen Speaker

* The assiento contract stipulated that from the first day of May, 1713, to the first of May, 1743, the Company should transport into the West-Indies, one hundred forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes a year; and pay for each negro thirty-three pieces of eight and one third, in full for all royal duties.

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of the House of Commons. On the second day of March, the Queen being carried in a sedan to the House of Lords, signified to both Houses, that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. She observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the Protestant succession, in the House of Hanover, was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to disturb the publick tranquillity. She said, that after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her Parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the Crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the Protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the Lords, the Commons, and the Convocation: but the ill humour of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Addison and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of Whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

§ XXXIII. The Earl of Wharton complained in the House of Lords of a libel, intituled, "The "publick spirit of the Whigs set forth in their ge-"nerous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastick performance, imputed to Lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections upon the Union, the Scottish nation, and the Duke of Argyle in particular. The Lord-Treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew, the publisher, as well as John Barber,

ber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The Earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly, to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He moved that Barber and his servants might be examined: but, next day, the Earl of Mar, one of the Secretaries of State, declared, that, in pursuance to her Majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the Lords presented an address, beseeching her Majesty to issue out her Royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her Majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her Majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered: but the author remained safe from all detection.

§ XXXIV. The Commons, having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons, and it passed through both Houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers, lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, Esquire, a member of the House. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious reflections on the Queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: some paragraphs of his works were read; and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, General Stanhope, and Mr.

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Mr. Walpole: and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the Attorney-General. Whatever could be urged in his favour was but little regarded by the majority, which voted, that two pamphlets, intituled, "The Englishman," and "The Crisis," written by Richard Steele, Esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expelled the House of Commons.

§ XXXV. The Lords, taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the Queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine: that she would impart to them a detail of the Negociations for peace, a recital of the instances which had been made in favour of the Catalans, and an account of the monies granted by Parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her Majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of Noli Prosequi granted since her accession to the throne, and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licenses to return into Great-Britain, or other of her Majesty's dominions, since the Revolution. Having voted an application to the Queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the House adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the Pretender, the Ambassador of that Crown at the Hague, disowned it in a publick paper, by command of his Most Christian Majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the Whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions, was a total removal of the Whigs from all the

the employments, civil and military, which they had hitherto retained. These were now bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the Queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription, by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the House of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority. Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the Pretender's succession to the throne of Great-Britain. Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the Elector: they received his instructions: they maintained a correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the Protestant succession upon the death of the Queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation: but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

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Boyer. Burnet. Tindal. Torey. Bolingbroke. Voltaire.

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§ XXXVI. The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the Pretender, and the danger that threatened the Protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented,

that

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that Great-Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the House of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared that the Queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf: and that the engagements with them subsisted no longer than King Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her Majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the Pretender, the Whig Lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate, as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of Christians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The Earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorraine, that, notwithstanding the application of both Houses to her Majesty, during the last session, concerning the Pretender's being removed from Lorraine, no instances had yet been made to the Duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed that he himself had made those instances, in the Queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The Earl of Wharton proposed a question; "Whether the Protestant succession was in danger "under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. The Earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate. He owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed that the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his country, were the

rules

rules of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the Queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. This conversion, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist, and that the Protestant succession was firmly secured. He therefore resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The Duke of Argyle charged the ministers with mal-administration, both within those walls and without: he offered to prove that the Lord-Treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the Highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the Pretender. He affirmed that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the House of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay being detained. The Treasurer, laying his hand upon his breast, said, he had, on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the Protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had remitted, for two or three years past, between three and four thousand pounds to the Highland clans; and he hoped the House would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular: with respect to the reformed officers, he declared he had given orders for their being immediately paid. The Protestant succession was voted out of danger, by a small majority.

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§ XXXVII.

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§ XXXVII. Lord Hallifax proposed an address to the Queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the Pretender out of Lorraine; and that she would, in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the guarantee of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. The Earl of Wharton moved, that in the address her Majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender dead or alive. He was seconded by the Duke of Bolton; and the House agreed that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the Committee, Lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head: he proved it was an encouragement to murther and assassination: contrary to the precepts of christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by Lord Trevor, who moved that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great-Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the Lords Cowper and Hallifax; but by this time the Earl of Anglesey and some others, who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles, by promise of profitable employments; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the Chancellor and the Whig Lords only, the Queen replied in these words: "My "Lords, it would be a real strengthening to the "succession in the House of Hanover, as well as a "support to my government, that an end were put "to those groundless fears and jealousies which have "been so industriously promoted. I do not at this "time see any occasion for such a proclamation.

"When-

" Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall " give my orders for having it issued. As to the " other particulars of this address, I will give pro- " per directions therein." She was likewise importuned, by another address, to issue out a proclamation against all Jesuits, Popish Priests, and Bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late King James and the Pretender. The House resolved, that no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military; and that no person, a natural-born subject of her Majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a publick minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish Papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from King Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

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§ XXXVIII. Then the Lords in the opposition made an attack upon the Treasurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the Highlanders: but Oxford silenced his opposers, by asserting, that in so doing he had followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the House; and Lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation, with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpose. In the mean time, Baron Schutz demanded of the Chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, to sit in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, intimating that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance: but the Prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the Queen, that

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that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the Princess Sophia. She observed, that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way, than as the Prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her Highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise, should they have a pretext to begin a commotion; she, therefore, persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the Electoral Prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution, without first knowing her sentiments on the subject, and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagreeable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the Elector, his father: and the Treasurer took this opportunity to assure that Prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

§ XXXIX. The Whig Lords were dissatisfied with the Queen's answer to their address concerning the Pretender: and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute: but at length the majority carried the question in favour of an address, acknowledging her Majesty's goodness in delivering them, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burthen of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. The House of Commons concurred in this address, after having voted that

that the Protestant succession was out of danger: but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which General Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, chiefly distinguished themselves. The letters which the Queen had written to the Electoral House of Hanover were printed and published in England; with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reasons which prevented the Duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great-Britain. The Queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinion of her subjects: she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the Princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age: and her death was intimated to the Queen by Baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of Envoy-Extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover. This Princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth daughter of King James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished Princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the Court of England appeared in mourning; and the Elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the Liturgy of the Church of England. On the twelfth day of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the Church of England, as by law established. The design of it was to prohibit Dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each House as a species of persecution. Nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the Royal assent: but the Queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

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§ XL.

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§ XL. Her Majesty's constitution was now quite broken: one fit of sickness succeeded another; what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the Queen's presence the Treasurer and Secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party. As he foresaw it would soon be their turn to domineer, such precautions were necessary for his own safety. Bolingbroke affected to set the Whigs at defiance: he professed a warm zeal for the Church: he soothed the Queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix insinuated that the Treasurer was biassed in favour of the Dissenters, and even that he acted as a spy for the House of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themselves that the Queen in secret favoured the pretensions of her brother; and they depended on Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest. They believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general. They held private assemblies both in Great-Britain and in Ireland. They concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause. They even proceeded so far as to inlist men for the service of the Pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the Earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great-Britain. The Commons

voted an address of thanks for the proclamation; and assured her Majesty, that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of a hundred thousand pounds, as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her Majesty and her kingdoms. The Lords likewise presented an address on the same subject. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill, decreeing the penalties of high-treason against those who should list or be inlisted in the Pretender's service. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should list or be inlisted in the service of any foreign Prince or State, without a license under the sign manual of her Majesty, her heirs, or successors.

§ XLI. On the second day of July, the Lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain; and a great number of merchants being examined at the bar of the House, declared that unless the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five-and-twenty per cent. After a long debate, the House resolved to address the Queen for all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the person who advised her Majesty to that treaty. To this address she replied, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The Earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shewn to the addresses of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that House. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her Majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the House agreed to his motion. Another member moved, that the House should insist on her Majesty's naming the person who advised her

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her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the Lower House, whom Lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was screened by the majority in Parliament; but a general court of the South-Sea Company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by Captain Johnston, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him: that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a Director of, or having any employment in, this Company. The Queen had reserved to herself the quarter-part of the assiento contract, which she now gave up to the Company, and received the thanks of the Upper House; but she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July, she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them, that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words: "But I "must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends "can never be obtained, unless you bring the same "dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless "jealousies, which create and foment divisions "among you, be laid aside; and unless you shew "the same regard for my just prerogative, and for "the honour of my government, as I have already "expressed for the rights of my people."

§ XLII. After the peace had thus received the sanction of the Parliament, the Ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the Queen, containing a detail of the publick transactions; in the course of which he endea-

voured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the Treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the House of Hanover. The Duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her Majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the Chancellor, and Oxford, in the Queen's presence. The Treasurer affirmed he had been wronged, and abused by lies and misrepresentations, but he threatened vengeance, declaring he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had obtained. He laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the Duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the Duchess had conceived against that minister.

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§ XLIII. Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the Treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at Court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on this event, had such an effect upon the Queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargick disorder. Not-

 withstanding

BOOK I. withstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. Then the Committee of the council assembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kensington. The Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and, without being summoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were surprized at their appearance; but the Duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared that the Queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the Duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of Lord-Treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the Queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the Duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the Lord-chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of Lord-treasurer, Lord-chamberlain, and Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his Sovereign's favour. He was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in or about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and Lord Somers, with many other Whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately dispatched

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dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition: an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the Elector of Brunswick, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the Queen's life; informing him of the measures they had taken; and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her Majesty's decease. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the Earl of Strafford, to desire the States-General would be ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new King as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; to over-awe the Jacobites in Scotland; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkley.

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§ XLIV. The Queen continued to doze in a lethargick insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August in the morning, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, Queen of Great-Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of the dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestick. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or per-

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sonal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a Prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites; but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the Church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished Sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England; and well deserved the expressive, though simple epithet of "The good Queen Anne."

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

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§ I. IT may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the Earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, laid it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the

the danger with which it must have been attended, and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the House of Hanover: but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the Pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favour the Heir of Blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the Whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the Protestant succession. The Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment; and they believed the majority of the Tories would join them on the same maxims. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of Treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the Queen, on whose personal favour he depended. The resolute behaviour of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the Whig interest had gained the ascendancy, completed the confusion of the Tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no other objection to the succession in the House of Hanover, but the fear of seeing the Whig faction once more predominate: yet they were not without hope that their new Sovereign, who was reputed a Prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the Tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the Church and Monarchy, on the Bank and the monied-interest, raised upon usury, and maintained by

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by corruption. In a word, the Whigs were elated and overbearing; the Tories abashed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with respect to them, was truly critical.

§ II. The Queen had no sooner resigned her last breath than the privy-council met, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Hanoverian Resident, Kreyenberg, produced the three instruments in which the Elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons* to be added as Lords Justices to the seven great offices of the realm. Orders were immediately issued for proclaiming King George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Regency appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his Majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers in whom they could confide to their respective posts: they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth: they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary: while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification. On the whole, King George ascended the throne of Great-Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent: and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by Queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the Pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the Pretender. This being communicated to the Vice-Chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. Secretary Bromley, member of Parliament for the University; and the Vice-Chancellor

* These were the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh—the Earls of Pomfret, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford—Lord Viscount Townshend, and Lords Hallifax and Cowper.

offered

offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some lunatick, or weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body. CHAP. I. 1714.

§. III. The Parliament having assembled, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the Lord Chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both Houses in the name of the Regency. He told them, that the Privy-council appointed by the Elector of Brunswick had proclaimed that Prince under the name of King George, as the lawful and rightful Sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the publick peace. He observed, that the several branches of the publick revenue were expired by the demise of her late Majesty; and recommended to the Commons the making such provision, in that respect, as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the Crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the publick credit. Both Houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new Sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the Parliament of Great-Britain. In the mean time the Lower House prepared and passed a bill, granting to his Majesty the same civil-list which the Queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, which had been in the service of Great-Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the Treasury to any person who should apprehend the Pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs who had been dispatched to Hanover before the Queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the King to the Regency, they went to the

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House of Peers; then the Chancellor in another speech to both Houses, intimated his Majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The Commons finished the bill for the civil-list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state-lottery, which received the Royal assent from the Lords-Justices. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

§ IV. Mr. Prior having notified the Queen's death to the Court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British Crown in the House of Hanover. The Earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the States of Holland, and the Resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his Master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his Electoral Highness on his succession to the throne of Great-Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions, and assured him that his interests were as dear to him as their own. The Chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the Queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand, that the King of France expected he should quit his territories immediately; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the King had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the Regency to prepare a patent for creating the Prince Royal Prince of Wales; and for removing Lord Bolingbroke from his post of Secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and Lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

§ V.

§ V. King George having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his Brother Prince Ernest, set out with the Electoral Prince from Herenhausen on the thirty-first day of August; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General. On the sixteenth day of September he embarked at Orange Poldar, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the Earl of Berkley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the afternoon the yacht sailed up the river; and his Majesty, with the Prince, were landed from a barge at Greenwich, about six in the evening. There he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, Captain of the life-guards, and the Lords of the Regency. From the landing place he walked to his house in the Park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand as they approached. When he retired to his bedchamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession: but the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Trevor were not of the number. Next morning, the Earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his Majesty's favour: but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the King's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his Majesty expressed uncommon regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

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§ VI. It was the misfortune of this Prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the Tories, who constituted such a considerable part

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of his subjects. They were now excluded from all share of the Royal favour, which was wholly engrossed by their enemies: these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served them with fidelity and affection. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The Duke of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the King restored to the Duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed Colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. The great seal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy seal to the Earl of Wharton: the government of Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household: Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed Secretary of state: the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon the Duke of Montrose. The Duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the Duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of pensioners; and the Duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the House of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital. A new privy-council was appointed, and the Earl of Nottingham declared president: but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council, or junto, composed of the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lords Hallifax, Townshend, and Somers, and General Stanhope. The Regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps, and the Archbishop of Armagh from the office of Lords Justices of Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare. Allen Broderick was appointed

appointed chancellor: another privy-council was formed; and the Duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The Treasury and Admiralty were put into commission: all the governments were changed: and, in a word; the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. At the same time, the Prince-Royal was declared Prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The King was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established: an aim which he imagined might be effectually accomplished, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he, moreover, assured them he would earnestly endeavour to render property secure; the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new Peers, and others were promoted to higher titles*. On the twentieth day of October, he was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke assisted†. On that very day, the university of Oxford, in full convocation,

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* James, Lord Chandos, was created Earl of Caernarvon—Lewis, Lord Rockingham, Earl of that name—Charles, Lord Ossulton, Earl of Tankerville—Charles, Lord Hallifax, Earl of Hallifax—Heneage, Lord Guernsey, Earl of Aylesford—John, Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol—Thomas, Lord Pelham, Earl of Clare—Henry, Earl of Thomond, in Ireland, Viscount Tadcaster—James, Viscount Castleton, in Ireland, Baron Sanderson—Bennet, Lord Sherrard, in Ireland, Baron of Harborough—Gervase, Lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, Baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks—Henry Boyle, Baron of Carleton, in the county of York—Sir Richard Temple, Baron of Cobham—Henry, Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge.

† In the month of October, the Princess of Wales arrived in England with her two eldest daughters, the Princesses Anne and Amelia.

unanimously

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unanimously conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French King was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the Earl of Stair appointed Ambassador to the Court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time, General Cadogan was sent as Plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier treaty, negociated there between the Emperor and the States-General.

§. VII. Meanwhile, the number of the malcontents in England was considerably increased by the King's attachment to the Whig faction. The clamour of the Church's being in danger was revived: jealousies were excited; seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading were filled with licentious riot. The party cry was; "Down with the Whigs! "Sacheverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were prevented by her deplorable death. He observed that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended

Acts

Acts of Settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the Secretaries of State, the King refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, Minister from the Duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The Marquis having communicated this circumstance to the Duke, that Prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the Chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French King, whom the Duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the Marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the Pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master: he, therefore, quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The High-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence of the Whig prelates. The Lower House of Convocation had, before the Queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke under the title of "The Scrip-"ture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the Catholick faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the Bishops: and the Doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the Upper House; but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the Bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the Bishops; but the Lower House resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the Archbishop and Bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the Church, the purity

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purity of the Christian faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the State. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures with respect to the Trinity; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

§ VIII. The Parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the King complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of publick affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that in the elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the Protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the Protestant succession was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be interpreted? People in general construed it into a design to maintain party distinctions, and encourage the Whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the Tories; and as the first flash of that vengeance which afterwards was seen to burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the Earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always

always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of Whigs was returned both in England and Scotland. CHAP. I. 1714.

§ IX. When this new Parliament assembled on the seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen Speaker of the Commons. On the twenty-first day of the month, the King appeared in the House of Lords, and delivered to the Chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both Houses. His Majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the Protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great-Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guarantee the present treaties. He observed, that the Pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointment; that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that the publick debts were surprisingly increased even since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the Commons to understand, that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the Crown; that as it was his and their happiness to see a Prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expence to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and, therefore, he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason

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to hope from his Commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared that the established constitution in Church and State should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence, that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued—the affection of his people.

§ X. Speeches suggested by a vindictive ministry better became the leader of an incensed party, than the Father and Sovereign of a divided people. This declaration portended measures which it was the interest of the Crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both Houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The Lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his Majesty, assisted by the Parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The Tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The Commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out those measures whereon the Pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the House of Lords, the Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the

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the Archbishop of York, and other Peers, both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late Queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the Lower House, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, General Ross, Sir William Whitelock, and other members took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the Commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Secretary Stanhope. These gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm; that those matters would soon be laid before the House, when it would appear that a certain English General had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Mareschal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in publick, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the House of Lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification. In this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated informations, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold; that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two Houses of Parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the ho-

Boyer. Torcy. Tindal. Bolingbr. Voltaire.

BOOK II. 1714. nour and dignity of his Royal Mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed, that he had served her Majesty faithfully and dutifully in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

An. 1715. § XI. In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition; and even in some addresses to the King their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the House of Commons, to consider the King's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, Sir William Whitelock, member for the University of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William Wyndham rising up, said, the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the Tower!" A warm debate ensued; Sir William being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and those who remained in the House resolved, That he should be reprimanded by the Speaker. He was accordingly rebuked, for having presumed to reflect on his Majesty's proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his Majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity

indignity to his Majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquiesced in the determination of the House; but had no thanks to give to these gentlemen who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XII. On the ninth day of April, General Stanhope delivered to the House of Commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the House. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot, and met that same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the inquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritick fever, in the seventy-second year of his age. Immediately after the committee had begun to act, the Whig party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the Marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigour and application. The Committee of the Lower House taking the civil-list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The Tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to King William, fifty thousand pounds were allotted to the late Queen, when Princess of Denmark; twenty thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; and twice that sum, as a dowry,

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a dowry, to James's Queen: that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late Queen's civil-list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the Crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between Lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and, indeed, the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed hardship. At length the House agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil-list during his Majesty's life. A motion being made for an address against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and over-ruled by the majority. The Lords passed the bill for regulating the land forces, with some amendments.

§ XIII. On the eighteenth day of May, Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the King of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the Allies for the security of the Empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the States-General had presented memorials to the Regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish General, Steenboch, and his army were made prisoners, Count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administration of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wisma were sequestered into the hands of the King of Prussia; the administrator engaged to secure them, and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the Governor of Pomerania refused

fused to comply with this treaty, those Allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the Governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expence of the siege. The King of Sweden returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this Monarch likewise threatened to invade the Electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friend; King George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swedes in his absence, were made over to his Britannick Majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These Allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen: but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlescroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

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§ XIV. The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the

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the anniversary of the King's birth-day with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace: but next day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards, who patroled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High-church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of King William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois a schoolmaster, who affirmed that King George had no right to the Crown, was tried, and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the King's palace, and into that which belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The Court being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that General of suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one Captain Wright, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared to be disaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet, were transmitted to England;

Jefferies

Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond. CHAP. I.

§ XV. The House of Lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Casils, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of King William. On the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the House of Commons, that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved, That a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the House, were immediately taken into custody. Then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negociation with Monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negociation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the Allies and favour the French: the Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French General: the Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negociate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the Duke of Shrewsbury's negociation in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report should be printed for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories: a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority. 1713.

§ XVI. This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke of high-

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high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to Lord Bolinbroke, amounted to high-treason; and General Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then Lord Coninsby standing up, "The worthy chairman (said he) has impeached the hand, but "I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, "and I the justice: he has impeached the scholar, "and I the master. I impeach Robert Earl of "Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high-treason, and "other crimes and misdemeanours." Mr. Auditor Harley, the Earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his Sovereign: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two Parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to misdemeanours; if the sanction of a Parliament, which is the representative and legislature of the nation, be not sufficient to protect a minister from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no security. Mr. Auditor Foley, the Earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose: Sir Joseph Jekyll, a staunch Whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the Earl of high-treason. Nevertheless, the House resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the House of Lords next day, he found himself deserted by his brother Peers, as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the House that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined. Prior was accordingly imprisoned, and cut off from all communication. On the

the twenty-first day of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James, Duke of Ormond, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the Duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications: he enumerated the great services performed to the Crown and nation by his Grace and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the Queen's commands; and he affirmed that all allegations against him could not, in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by General Lumley, who urged that the Duke of Ormond had on all occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his Sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyll said if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country; that, as the statute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the Duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the Duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial,

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consulted his own safety, by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June, the Earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; as well as for having treated the most serene House of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

§ XVII. When the articles against the Earl of Oxford were read in the House, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French King in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General. The question being put, Whether this article amounted to high treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly Solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham, and the Tories, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll. This honest patriot said it was ever his principle to do justice to every body, from the highest to the lowest; and that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by the spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not scruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the Earl, and the other articles approved by the House, Lord Coninsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached the Earl of Oxford at the bar of the House of Lords, demanding at the same time, that he might be sequestered from Parliament, and committed

mitted to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read; then the Tory Lords moved that the Judges might be consulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the Earl should be committed to safe custody; this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose; That the whole charge might be reduced to the negociations and conclusions of the peace; that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny; that the conditions of the peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctancy which some of the Allies showed to come into the Queen's measures; that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments; that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who has thought fit to step aside; that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, without offending against any known law; and, being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly: that he did not doubt their Lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing: and that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of his government. "My Lords (said he) "I am now to take my leave of your Lordships, and "of this honourable House, perhaps for ever; I shall "lay down my life with pleasure in a cause favoured "by my late dear Royal Mistress. When I consider "that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, "and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and

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"retire with great content; and, my Lords, God's "will be done." The Duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the House that the Earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the Black-Rod; in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond "and Oxford, for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar; where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared that if the Earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried on a division, that he should be conveyed thither, on the sixteenth day of July. During the debate, the Earl of Anglesey observed that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the King's hands. This expression kindled the whole House into a flame. Some members cried, "To the "Tower!" some, "To order!" The Earl of Sunderland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place, he would have called the person that spoke them to an account: in the mean time, he moved that the noble Lord should explain himself. Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the House, was glad to make an apology; which was accepted. The Earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire, and other parts of the kingdom, against the Whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The House of Commons presented an address to the King, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation-act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour

hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in publick, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XVIII. When the King went to the House of Peers, on the twentieth day of July, to give the Royal assent to this, and some other bills, he told both Houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home; and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the Commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the publick safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the Parliament, the Convocation, the Common-council and Lieutenancy of London, and the two Universities: but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner: and the deputies were charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the Scholars of the university. The addresses from the Kirk of Scotland, and the Dissenting Ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The Parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the King to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the Pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: General Earle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-Park: Lord Irwin was appointed Governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with Lord Windsor, the Generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons,

BOOK II. goons, and eight of infantry; and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the Commons added six articles to those exhibited against the Earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Walpole. Bills being brought in to summon him and the Duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or, in default thereof, to attaint them of high-treason, they passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent. On the last day of August, the Commons agreed to the articles against the Earl of Strafford, which being presented to the House of Lords, the Earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the Crown of Great-Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British House of Peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secresy, or remained in the hands of government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the Earl of Ilay represented that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case, to do anything contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression on the House, which resolved that the Earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

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§ XIX.

§ XIX. On the third day of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the House of Lords, who transmitted it to the Commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his Royal Mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country: that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the House resolved, That the answer of Robert Earl of Oxford should be referred to the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached Lords; and that the Committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the Lords. Then the Committee reported, That Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited; the House of Lords ordered the Earl-Marshal to raze out of the list of Peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the Duke's atchievement, as Knight of the Garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windsor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane Nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his Sovereign. About this period, the Royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law the tenant who

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continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the Pretender, was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

§ XX. By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissentions occasioned in that country by the Union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the Queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the Union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the Revolutioners, who secured a majority of Whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favour of the Pretender: but maintained a correspondence with the malcontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment into a system of politicks, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The Tories finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and communicated with

with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the Pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories should join him at his first landing in Great-Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring, that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The Chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French King, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great-Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the House of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the Chevalier, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

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§ XXI. All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the Court of London by the Earl of Stair, who then resided as English Ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vi-

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gour, vigilance, and address. He detected the Chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great-Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the Pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV. that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans, who adopted a new system of politicks, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great-Britain. Instead of assisting the Pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great-Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities. and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

§ XXII. The partisans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquisses of Huntley and Tullibardine; the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the Generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar, on the sixth day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart, of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and Major-General Whetham marched with

with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar, that the Pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the Chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprize the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, Lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as Commander in Chief of the forces in North-Britain. The Earl of Sunderland set sail in the Queensborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and many other Scottish Peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to King George.

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§ XXIII. In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house for inlisting men in the service of the Pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The King desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster,

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Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some Popish Lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the Council, was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the Council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the King thought proper to remove him from the office of Master of the Horse. On the twenty-first day of September, the King went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the Royal assent. Then the Chancellor read his Majesty's speech expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction, in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received: and the Parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October.

§ XXIV. The friends of the House of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprize Bristol: but they were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government; which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The University of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons,

dragoons, took possession of the city at day-dreak, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffeeman: and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to Colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the University. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends: but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels retiring northward to Wooller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the Pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

§ XXV. By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his headquarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon

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upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled for this purpose: and notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the King's ships in the Frith, to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the King's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprize. They amused the King's ships with marches and counter-marches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The Earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge: but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The Duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-Pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order across the Frith from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

§ XXVI. The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was

was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland and join General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the Earl of Wintoun. Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of General, which had been sent to him from the Earl of Mar, and proclaimed the Pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places: but the King's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day

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General

BOOK II. 1715. General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons; and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the King's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were over-ruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand, that the General would not treat with rebels; but in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the Earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared he could not promise the Scots would surrender in that manner. The General desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut to pieces. The Scottish noblemen did not choose to run the risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a Court martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

§ XXVII. The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Dumblaine, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Preten-

der's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the Duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west commanded by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriff-moor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day-break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exeed three thousand five hundred men; on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine: but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the Royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evan's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan:

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Allan: yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Whetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman, to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about, and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the Duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side: the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the North of Scotland, where the Earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army in order to defend their own territories: and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the Pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country: and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVIII. The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh: General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other engineers: and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The Pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf; and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second day of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his publick entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made

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an

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an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; a third establishing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth summoning the meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetick speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprise, as the King's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

§ XXIX. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the Duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the Pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrotick in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melford, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline.

General

General Gordon, whom the Pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. Then they continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badenock, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a Whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation, as encouraged the partisans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. CHAP. I. 1715.

§ XXX. The Parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England, for the present administration. They passed bills for recognizing the King's Title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late Queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees, and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the Lords-Justices would issue a proclamation against the Popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other Papists. They engaged in an association against the Pretender, and all his abettors. They voted the Earl of Anglesey an enemy to the King and kingdom,

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dom, because he advised the Queen to break the army, and prorogue the late Parliament; and they addressed the King to remove him from his council and service. The Lords-Justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two Houses.

§ XXXI. The King, in his speech to the English parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the Pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion: on the conclusion of the barrier treaty between the Emperor and the States-General, under his guarantee; on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the Crown of Great Britain and the States-General was almost concluded; and he assured the Commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the Crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occasion. The Commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive councils which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from the House. They forthwith impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. These noblemen being brought to the bar of the House of Lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their

answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the Lower House ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act: then they prepared another to attaint the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the King gave the Royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. He told the Parliament that the Pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the style and title of King of these realms; he demanded of the Commons such supply as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached Lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death, on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Westminster-hall, where the Lord Chancellor Cowper presided as Lord High-Steward on that occasion. The Countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairne threw themselves at the King's feet, as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but their tears and entreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

§ XXXII. The Countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other Ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the King's bed-chamber, where she invoked his Majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the House of Peers, attended by the Ladies of the other condemned Lords, and above twenty

 others

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others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the House: but no regard was paid to their petition. Next day, they petitioned both Houses of Parliament. The Commons rejected their suit. In the Upper House, the Duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the Earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring that he himself should oppose his solicitation. The Earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of Lord Nairne. Petitions from the rest were presented by other Lords, moved with pity and humanity. Lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The Earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted: the House assented to his opinion, and agreed to an address, praying his Majesty would reprieve such of the condemned Lords as should seem to deserve his mercy. To this petition the King answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The Earl of Nottingham, President of the Council, his brother the Earl of Aylesbury, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, his son Lord Finch, one of the Lords of the Treasury, his Kinsman Lord Guernsey, Master of the Jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his Majesty's service. Orders were dispatched for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the Viscount of Kenmuir immediately; the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his own mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed

ployed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to trial, and being convicted received sentence of death. CHAP. I. 1715. Annals. Bolingbr. Patten. Debates in Parliam. Tindal. State Trials.

§ XXXIII. When the King passed the land-tax bill, which was ushered in a with very extraordinary preamble, he informed both Houses of the Pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of Common-Pleas, when bills of high-treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the Continent in safety: the rest pleaded not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges, appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old-Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailers, Brigadier Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; and a great number were found guilty: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: and among these was one William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the Church of England, but not of the revo- An. 1716.

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lution schismatical Church, whose Bishops had abandoned the King, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay deprivations authorised by the Prince of Orange.

§ XXXIV. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage; the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the danger was blown over their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form, prepossessed many spectators in favour of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated. In a word, persecution, as usual, extended the heresy. The ministry, perceiving this universal disaffection, and dreading the revolution of a new Parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of Parliaments to seven years. On the tenth day of April, the Duke of Devonshire represented, in the House of Lords, that triennial elections served to keep up party divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expences, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign Princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly, to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered. He, therefore, proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of Parliaments. He was seconded by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion

tion was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet. They observed, that frequent Parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages: that the members of the Lower House were chosen by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the Parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no Prince or State could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own: nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported: on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great-Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the Popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government: they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety: that the Gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expence of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a Parliament; and the purchase would rise accordingly: that a long Parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity to a vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the parliaments were short and frequent;

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frequent: that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this Parliament for seven years would be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial Parliaments passed by a great majority; though twenty Peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the Lower House, where many strong objections were stated to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the Royal sanction.

§ XXXV. The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the King resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the Elector of Hanover, for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the King of Great-Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the King now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominions, by the act for the further limitation of the Crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both Houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth day of June, the King closed the session with a speech upon the usual topicks, in which, however, he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shewn, served only to encourage the faction

of

of the Pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, General Macartney, who had returned to England at the accession of King George, presented himself to trial for the murther of the Duke of Hamilton. The deposition of Colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the General was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The King's brother, Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnabruck, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. The Duke of Argyle, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to whom his Majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the Duke in the chief command of the forces in North-Britain, and in the government of Port-Mahon; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed Lord Register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

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§ XXXVI. On the seventh day of July, the King embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognitò to Hanover, and from thence set out for Pyrmont. His aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great-Britain from the Pretender. These two Princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction, of invading his kingdom. He knew the Duke of Orleans was resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young King, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The Regent was not ignorant that Philip of Spain would

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would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The King of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association. The negociation was carried on by General Cadogan for England, the Abbé du Bois for France, and the Pensionary Heinsius for the States-General. The Regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged that the Pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great-Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom: and that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed to the satisfaction of his Britannick Majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers: of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the Duke of Orleans to the Crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connections; and that on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

§ XXXVII. His Majesty was not so successful in his endeavours to appease the King of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored. These the Elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition. Meanwhile his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial

prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great-Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish King's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprize, which flattered his ambition and revenge: nor was it disagreeable to the Czar of Muscovy, who resented the Elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George having received intimation of these intrigues returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of foot guards to secure Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time, Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Cæsar were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two Secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced the King to take such an extraordinary step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation; but the Marquis de Montelcone, Ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom without arresting the person of a publick minister, and seizing all his papers; which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets: he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time Baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim,

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Arnheim, at the desire of King George, communicated to the States by Mr. Leathes, his minister at the Hague. The Baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of King George, who had joined the Princes in confederacy against the King of Sweden, without having received the least provocation: who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the Usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

§ XXXVIII. When the Parliament of Great-Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the King informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the Commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared that the scheme projected by Baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in Parliament, both Houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the King's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace; and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind from the convention; another from the dissenting ministers; a third

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from the university of Cambridge; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the King, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion, his Majesty's safe return, and the favour lately shewn to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the Pope, the Pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his Majesty's accession. Dr. Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebellion had been long suppressed: that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his Majesty returned from his German dominions; that the late favour they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them: and that there was no precedent for addressing a King upon his return from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard paid to their remonstrance, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniversary of the Prince's birth-day had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up to the council, which seemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the House of Lords deliberated upon the mutiny-bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford; and a motion was made, that they should inquire into the riot. The Lords presented an address to the Queen, desiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the House. These being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which the Earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the Vice-Chancellor of the university, the mayor and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One

of

BOOK II. 1716. of the Court members observing that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the House was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair; but this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions: That the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make publick rejoicings on the Prince's birth-day; That the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which they had assembled was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; That this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued; That the conduct of the Major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part; That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the Lords of the Committee of the council, before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his Royal Highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature, so managed, did not much redound to the honour of such an august assembly.

Annals. State Trials. Deb. in Parliam. Tindal. Voltaire.

An. 1717. § XXXIX. The Commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year; granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The House likewise voted four-and-twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the King had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-General to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand

was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties might be laid before the House: but this was over-ruled by the majority.* The supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the Commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expence of the year; therefore Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his Majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a supply should be granted to his Majesty for this purpose. Mr. Shippen observed it was a great misfortune that the King was as little acquainted with the Parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country: that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his Majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; but that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his Majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less that they should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain should now seem to fear so inconsiderate an enemy as the King of Sweden.

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* This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which Prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August. The Imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men: that of the infidels amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, commanded by the Grand Vizir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

The

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The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote and others; but some of the Whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The Speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of four voices.

§ XL. The Ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of Secretary of State, by the intrigues of the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, Secretary at War, and Mr. Methuen, Secretary of State. When the affair of the supply was resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his Majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a British Parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the House in vindication of the Ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed that if an estimate of the conduct of the Ministry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless

less as they were represented. " Was it not a mis- CHAP.
" take (said he) not to preserve the peace at home, I.
" after the King had ascended the throne with the 1717.
" universal applause and joyful acclamations of all
" his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the
" breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a pro-
" clamation, to offer pardon to such as should return
" home peaceably, according to the custom on for-
" mer occasions of the same nature? Was it not a
" mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion and
" the trial and the execution of the principal authors
" of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to
" despair, by not passing an act of indemnity, by
" keeping so many persons under hard and tedious
" confinement: and by granting pardons to some,
" without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it
" not a mistake, not to trust a vote of Parliament
" for making good such engagements as his Majesty
" should think proper to enter into; and instead of
" that, to insist on the granting this supply in such
" an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake, to
" take this opportunity to create divisions, and ren-
" der some of the King's best friends suspected and
" obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form
" parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to
" repeal the act of occasional conformity?" A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the House of Commons. After a long debate the sum was granted. These were the first-fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent. The Elector of Hanover quarrelled with the King of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to support him in the prosecution of the war. The Ministry now underwent a new revolution. The Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed Secretaries of State: Mr. Stanhope became first Commissioner

BOOK II. Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1717. § XLI. On the sixth day of May, the King going to the House of Peers, gave the Parliament to understand, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had sailed to the Baltic, to observe the motions of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound. He said he had given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thousand soldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He desired they would take proper measures for reducing the public debts with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the publick business with all possible dispatch and unanimity. Some progress had already been made in deliberations upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the publick had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had rejected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the Exchequer. He proposed, in the House of Commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but, when he resigned his places, the minister made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the execution of the scheme. In the course of the debate, some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared they had made a practice of selling places and reversions. Mr. Hungerford standing up, said he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and since

since they had by mischance discovered their naked- CHAP. I.
ness, the other members ought, according to the custom of the East, to turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. 1717.

Mr. Boscawen moved that the House would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen: the House approved of the motion; and the Speaker took their word and honour that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the House came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of "The South-Sea Act, "the Bank Act, and the General Fund Act." The original stock of the South-sea Company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the Company made up that sum to the Government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight thousand pounds a-year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, That the Company should continue a corporation until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne. By the Bank Act the Governors and Company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence half-penny, or the principal of one million seven hundred

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and seventy-five thousand twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence half-penny, in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining Exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, That the former allowances should be continued to Christmas, and then the Bank should have for circulating the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds remaining Exchequer-bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen shillings at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a-day for interest. By the same act the Bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they should have five pounds per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by Parliament. The General-Fund Act recited the several Acts of Parliament, for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late Queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings and ten-pence one-fifth. This was the General-Fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by Parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, That all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual should be subject

subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the Sinking Fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank and of the South-Sea Company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the General Fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed and appointed by any future Act of Parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever. CHAP. I. 1717.

§ XLII. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory Lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of Parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the House of Commons made acquainted with this determination. The Commons appointed a Committee to enquire into the state of the Earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the Lords, demanding longer time to prepare for trial. Accordingly, the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the Commons appointed the Committee, with four other members, to be managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-Hall, where Lord Cowper presided as Lord Steward. The Commons were assembled as a committee of the

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whole House: the King, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the Earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the Commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article, Lord Harcourt signified to their Lordships that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own House. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the Commons would make good the two articles for high-treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed on the method proposed by the Commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He, therefore, moved that the Commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles of high-treason. He was supported by the Earls of Anglesey and Nottingham, the Lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Coningsby and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two Houses. The Commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a Peer either for treason or for high crimes and misdemeanors; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation. The House of Lords insisted on their former resolution; and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every Court of Justice to order and direct such methods of proceedings as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The Commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more warm. The Lords sent a message to the Lower House,

House, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl of Oxford. The Commons paid no regard to this intimation; but adjourned to the third day of July. The Lords, repairing to Westminster-Hall, took their places, ordered the Earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own House, where, after some debate, the Earl was acquitted upon a division: then returning to the hall they voted, That he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the Ministers, and to the late change in the administration. In consequence of this he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the Earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and Lord Townshend. The Commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an Address to the King, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended Act of Grace. The King promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the Earl to appear at Court. On the fifteenth day of July the Earl of Sunderland delivered in the House of Peers the Act of Grace, which passed through both Houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore; Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmarne the printer, and Thompson; as also the assassinators in Newgate, and the clan of Macgregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the Earl of Carnwath, the Lords Widdrington and Nairne were immediately discharged; together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The Act of Grace being prepared for the royal assent, the King went to the House of Peers on the fifteenth day of July,

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July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topicks.

§ XLIII. The proceedings in the Convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor. One was intituled, "A "Preservative against the Principles and Practices "of the Nonjurors:" the other was a sermon preached before the King, under the title of, "The "nature of the kingdom of Christ." An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape, master of Eton college, and the Convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances. They drew up a representation, in which the Preservative and the Sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion: to impugn and impeach the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The Government thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings by a prorogation; which, however, inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens were drawn against the bishop: but his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the King removed from the office of his chaplains: and the Convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

I. *Difference between King George and the Czar of Muscovy.* § II. *The King of Sweden is killed at Frederickstadt.* § III. *Negociation for the quadruple alliance.* § IV. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § V. *James Shepherd executed for a design against the King's life. Parliament prorogued.* § VI. *Nature of the quadruple alliance.* § VII. *Admiral Byng sails to the Mediterranean.* § VIII. *He destroys the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro.* § IX. *Remonstrances of the Spanish Ministry.* § X. *Disputes in Parliament touching the Admiral's attacking the Spanish fleet.* § XI. *Act for strengthening the Protestant interest.* § XII. *War declared against Spain.* § XIII. *Conspiracy against the Regent of France.* § XIV. *Intended invasion by the Duke of Ormond.* § XV. *Three hundred Spaniards land and are taken in Scotland.* § XVI. *Account of the Peerage bill.* § XVII. *Count Merci assumes the command of the Imperial army in Sicily.* § XVIII. *Activity of Admiral Byng.* § XIX. *The Spanish troops evacuate Sicily.* § XX. *Philip obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance.* § XXI. *Bill for securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain.* § XXII. *South-Sea act.* § XXIII. *Charters granted to the Royal and London assurance offices.* § XXIV. *Treaty of alliance with Sweden.* § XXV. *The Prince of Hesse elected King of Sweden.* § XXVI. *Effects of the South-Sea scheme.* § XXVII. *The bubble breaks.* § XXVIII. *A secret committee appointed by the House of Commons.* § XXIX. *Inquiry carried on by both Houses.* § XXX. *Death of Earl Stanhope and Mr. Craggs, both Secretaries of State.* § XXXI. *The Estates of the Directors of the South-Sea Company are confiscated.* § XXXII. *Proceedings of the Commons with respect to the stock of the South-Sea Company.*

§ I.

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§ I. DURING these transactions, the negociations of the North were continued against the King of Sweden, who had penetrated into Norway, and advanced towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The Czar had sent five-and-twenty thousand Russians to assist the Allies in the reduction of Wismar, which he intended to bestow upon his niece, lately married to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin: but, before his troops arrived, the place had surrendered, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison, a circumstance which increased the misunderstanding between him and the King of Great-Britain. Nevertheless, he consented to a project for making a descent upon Schonen, and actually took upon him the command of the allied fleet; though he was not at all pleased to see Sir John Norris in the Baltick, because he had formed designs against Denmark, which he knew the English squadron would protect. He suddenly desisted from the expedition against Schonen, on pretence that the season was too far advanced; and the King of Denmark published a manifesto, remonstrating against his conduct on this occasion. By this time Baron Gortz had planned a pacification between his Master and the Czar, who was discontented with all his German allies, because they opposed his having any footing in the Empire. This Monarch arrived at Amsterdam in December, whither he was followed by the Czarina; and he actually resided at the Hague when King George passed through it, in returning to his British Dominions; but he declined an interview with the King of England. When Gyllenburg's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favour the supposition of the Czar's being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the English court presented a long memorial, complaining that the King had caused to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies. He denied his having

having the least concern in the design of the Swedish King. He charged the Court of England with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles, and even with having promised to assist him against the Czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. Nevertheless he expressed an inclination to re-establish the ancient good understanding, and to engage in vigorous measures for prosecuting the war against the common enemy. The memorial was answered by the King of Great-Britain, who assured the Czar he should have reason to be fully satisfied, if he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding: in other words, withdraw the Russian troops from the Empire. Notwithstanding these professions, the two monarchs were never perfectly reconciled. CHAP. II. 1717.

§ II. The Czar made an excursion to the Court of France, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the Regent, at whose earnest desire he promised to recal his troops from Mecklenburgh. At his return to Amsterdam, he had a private interview with Gortz, who, as well as Gyllenburgh, had been set at liberty. Gortz undertook to adjust all difference between the Czar and the King of Sweden within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operation against Sweden, until that term should be expired. A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Aland. By this convention, the Czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the King of Great-Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that Prince; and one part of their design was to raise the Pretender to the throne of England. Baron Gortz set out from Aland for Frederickstadt in Norway, with the plan of peace, but,

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but, before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the thirtieth of November. Baron Gortz was immediately arrested, and brought to the scaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whose hatred he had incurred by his insolence of behaviour. The death of Charles was fortunate for King George. Sweden was now obliged to submit; while the Czar, the King of Denmark, and the Elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war.

§ III. Thus Bremen and Verden were secured to the House of Hanover: an acquisition towards which the English nation contributed by her money, as well as by her arms: an acquisition made in contradiction to the engagements into which England entered when King William became guarantee for the treaty of Travendahl: an acquisition that may be considered as the first link of a political chain by which the English nation was dragged back into expensive connections with the continent. The King had not yet received the investiture of the duchies; and, until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interest of the Emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great-Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained another complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The Emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked, and driven from the Morea. The Pope considered it as a religious war against the infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the King of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing against the Emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and gallies to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of this

year, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the Marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the Emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time, the King of Spain endeavoured to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alleged that the Archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples, and other places; and that the Great-Inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from his Holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no further, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy: nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of King George and the States-General. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the Emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, that the Emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the Duke of Savoy; that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the Queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as Princess of the House of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. The King of England and the Regent of France interposed their admonitions to no purpose. At length his Britannick Majesty had recourse to more substantial arguments, and ordered

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BOOK II. a strong squadron to be equipped with all possible expedition*.

1717. § IV. On the third day of November, the Princess of Wales was delivered of a Prince, the ceremony of whose baptism was productive of a difference between the grandfather and the father. The Prince of Wales intended that his uncle, the Duke of York, should stand godfather. The King ordered the Duke of Newcastle to stand for himself. After the ceremony, the Prince expressed his resentment against this nobleman in very warm terms. The King ordered the Prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and afterwards signified his pleasure that he should quit the palace of St. James. He retired with the Princess to a house belonging to the Earl of Grantham: but the children were detained at the palace. All Peers and Peeresses, and all Privy-counsellors and their wives, were given to understand, that in case they visited the Prince and Princess, they should have no access to his Majesty's presence; and all who enjoyed posts and places under both King and Prince were obliged to quit the service of one or other, at their option. When the Parliament met on the twenty-first day of November, the King, in his speech, told both Houses that

* The Pretender, who resided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that there was a design formed against his life, Pope Clement XI. gave directions that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, especially English, should be arrested. The Earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna, with a few armed followers, was seized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he said he came to pass some time in Italy, for the benefit of the air. He was close confined for a whole month in Fort Urbino, and his attendants were sent to prison. Nothing appearing to justify the suspicion, he was dismissed with uncommon civility. The King demanding reparation for this insult, the Pope wrote with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great-Britain, declaring that the Legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his Holiness, caused the Earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions which proved to be ill-grounded. The Cardinal Legate sent a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean, that he had asked forgiveness of his Holiness, and now begged pardon of his Britannick Majesty, for having unadvisedly arrested a Peer of Great-Britain on his travels.

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he had reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session: he expressed his desire that all those who were friends to the present happy establishment might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest, of which, as the Church of England was unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so would she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all Protestants. After the addresses of thanks, which were couched in the usual style, the Commons proceeded to take into consideration the estimates and accounts, in order to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thousand men were voted for the sea-service. When the supply for the army fell under deliberation, a very warm debate ensued, upon the number of troops necessary to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate harangue, insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, secretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple. Mr. Shippen in the course of the debate, said the second paragraph of the King's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than for Great-Britain; and it was a great misfortune that the King was a stranger to our language and constitution. Mr. Lechmere affirmed this was a scandalous invective against the King's person and government; and moved that he who uttered it should be sent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen, refusing to retract or excuse what he had said, was voted to the Tower by a great majority; and the number of standing forces was fixed at sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men. CHAP. II. 1717.

§ V. On account of the great scarcity of silver coin, occasioned by the exportation of silver, and the importation of gold, a motion was made to put a stop to this growing evil by lowering the value of gold

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gold specie. The Commons examined a representation which had been made to the Treasury by Sir Isaac Newton, master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswell explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburghers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The House in an address to the King, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one-and-twenty shillings each. His Majesty complied with their request: but people hoarding up their silver, in hopes that the price of it would be raised, or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two Houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdoms should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in, to prevent the melting down of the silver coin. At this period, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coachmaker, and an enthusiast in Jacobitism, sent a letter to a nonjuring clergyman, proposing a scheme for assassinating King George. He was immediately apprehended, owned the design, was tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn. This was likewise the fate of the Marquis de Palleotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the Duchess of Shrewsbury. He had, in a transport of passion, killed his own servant; and seemed indeed to be disordered in his brain. After he had received sentence of death, the King's pardon was earnestly solicited by his sister, the Duchess, and many other persons of the first distinction: but the common people became so clamorous, that it was thought dangerous to rescue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly underwent in the most ignominious manner. No subject produced so much

much heat and altercation in Parliament during this session, as did the bill for regulating the land forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion: a bill which was looked upon as an encroachment upon the liberties and constitution of England, inasmuch as it established martial law, which wrested from the civil magistrate the cognizance of crimes and misdemeanours committed by the soldiers and officers of the army: a jurisdiction inconsistent with the genius and disposition of the people. The dangers that might accrue from such a power were explained in the Lower House by Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Robert Walpole, which last, however, voted afterwards for the bill. In the House of Lords, it was strenuously opposed by the Earls of Oxford, Strafford, and Lord Harcourt. Their objections were answered by Lord Carteret. The bill passed by a great Majority; but divers Lords entered a protest. This affair being discussed, a bill was brought in for vesting in trustees the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland, to be sold for the use of the Publick; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining the claims, and for the more effectual bringing into the respective Exchequers the rents and profits of the estates till sold. The time of claiming was prolonged: the sum of twenty thousand pounds was reserved out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools; and eight thousand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom. The King having signified, by a message to the House of Commons, that he had lately received such information from abroad, as gave reason to believe that a naval force, employed where it should be necessary, would give weight to his endeavours; he therefore thought fit to acquaint the House with this circumstance, not doubting but that in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the House would provide for such exceeding.

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Oldmixon. Annals. Lamberty. Burchet. Hist. Reg. Tindal. St. Trials. Parlia. Bolingbr. Lives of the Admirals.

BOOK II. 1717. exceeding. The Commons immediately drew up and presented an address, assuring his Majesty that they would make good such exceedings of seamen as he should find necessary to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. On the twenty-first day of March, the King went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the Parliament to be prorogued*.

An. 1718. § VI. The King of Spain, by the care and indefatigable diligence of his prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, set sail from Barcelona towards Italy; but the destination of it was not known. A strong squadron having been fitted out in England, the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, presented a memorial to the British ministry, importing that so powerful an armament in time of peace could not but give umbrage to the King his master, and alter the good intelligence that subsisted between the two Crowns. In answer to this representation, the ministers declared that the King intended to send Admiral Byng with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality in Italy. Meanwhile, the negociations between the English and French ministers produced the quadruple alliance, by which King George and the Regent prescribed a peace between the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the King of Sicily, and undertook to compel Philip and the Savoyard to submit to such conditions as they had concerted with his Imperial Majesty. These powers were allowed only three months to consider the articles, and declare whether they would reject them, or acquiesce in the partition. Nothing could

* Earl Cowper, Lord-Chancellor, resigned the great seal; which was at first put in commission, but afterwards given to Lord Parker, as High Chancellor. The Earl of Sunderland was made President of the Council, and First Commissioner of the Treasury; Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed Secretaries of State; Lord Stanhope and Lord Cadogan were afterwards created Earls.

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be more contradictory to the true interest of Great-Britain than this treaty, which destroyed the balance in Italy, by throwing such an accession of power into the hands of the House of Austria. It interrupted the commerce with Spain; involved the kingdom in an immediate war with that monarchy: and gave rise to all the quarrels and disputes which have arisen between England and Spain in the sequel. The States-General did not approve of such violent measures, and for some time kept aloof: but at length they acceded to the quadruple alliance, which indeed was no other than a very expensive compliment to the Emperor, who was desirous of adding Sicily to his other Italian dominions. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ VII. The King of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his Imperial Majesty and the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. Lord Stanhope had been sent to Madrid, with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the King determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the fourth day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, and dispatched his secretary to Cadiz, with a letter to Colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most Catholick Majesty of the Admiral's arriving in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions: "You "are to make instances with both parties to cease "from using any further acts of hostility: but in "case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships "of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of "Naples, or other the territories of the Emperor in "Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can "only be with a design to invade the Emperor's "dominions, against whom only they have declared

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"war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy; or if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any further attempt." When Cardinal Alberoni perused these instructions, he told Colonel Stanhope, with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. He said the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by Admiral Byng, he should be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a list of the British squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promised, however, to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the envoy know his Majesty's resolution. Such an interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament which was altogether surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs. But he seems to have put too much confidence in the

the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the Admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the King his master. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ VIII. The Admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by Vice-Admiral Cornwall, with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Port-Mahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer; for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the Viceroy, Count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city; that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved: that an alliance was upon the carpet between the Emperor and the King of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Messina. The Admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thousand Germans for the citadel, under the command of General Wetzel. He forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the ninth day of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He dispatched his own Captain with a polite message to the Marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his directions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The

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Spanish General answered, that he had no power to treat, and consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the King of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle. The Admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven-and-twenty sail large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb vessels, and seven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four Rear-Admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, and Byng gave chace all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, Rear-Admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English Admiral detached Captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their councils, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight: yet the Admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement;

gagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, Captain Haddock, of the Grafton, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the eighteenth the Admiral received a letter from Captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel.* Had the Spaniards followed the advice of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English Admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them: for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle; besides the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before King George had received an account of this engagement from the Admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negociate with the several princes and states of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the King's royal grant to the officers and seamen; of the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried

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* This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.

"Sir,

"We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which "were upon the coast; the number as per margin. I am, &c.

G. WALTON."

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on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the Governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the Duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the Imperialists in Sicily during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the Viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial Generals about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and Count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the result of their deliberations: then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where the ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

§ IX. The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. The Marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he expostulated with him upon such an unprecedented outrage. Cardinal Alberoni, in a letter to that minister, inveighed against it as a base unworthy action. He said the neutrality of Italy was a weak pretence, since every body knew that neutrality had long been at an end; and that the Prince's guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht were entirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the

the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the guarantee was no longer binding than till a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British Ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless it must be owned, that the conduct of England, on this occasion, was irregular, partial, and precipitate. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ X. The Parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the King, in his speech, declared that the Court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements, for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate, therefore, the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that Court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain and of the West-Indies to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded, that a British Parliament would enable him to resent such treatment; and he assured them that his good brother, the Regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both Houses to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation proposed by Lord Carteret. Several Peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations,

or

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or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the nation, were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his Majesty's command he had already laid before the House the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence: particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the Emperor and his Majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen: and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the publick peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the Court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the publick faith, in attacking the Emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom: that they had rejected his Majesty's friendly offices and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his journey to Spain, and his negociations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the House of Commons, where Lord Hinchingbroke moved that, in their address of thanks, they should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the King had already taken for strengthening the Protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the opposition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of

of the session, to enter upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reasons on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the Parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an entire satisfaction, they ought to express their entire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. Secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by Lord Hinchingbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his Majesty. Then the Commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ XI. On the thirteenth day of December, Earl Stanhope declared, in the House of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well-affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of "An act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill repealing the acts against occasional conformity, the growth of schism, and some clauses in the Corporation and Test acts. This had been concerted by the ministry in private meetings with the most eminent Dissenters.

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Dissenters. The Tory Lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they were strenuous in their opposition. They alleged that the bill, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with Churchmen the civil and military employments of which they were then wholly possessed. Earl Cowper declared himself against that part of the bill by which some clauses of the Test and Corporation acts were repealed: because he looked upon those acts, as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in Church and State, which ought to be inviolably preserved. The Earl of Ilay opposed the bill, because, in his opinion, it infringed the *pacta conventa* of the treaty of Union, by which the bounds both of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the Union were broke with respect to one Church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other. The Archbishop of Canterbury said the acts which by this bill would be repealed were the main bulwark and supporters of the English Church: he expressed all imaginable tenderness for well-meaning conscientious Dissenters: but he could not forbear saying, some among that sect made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence shown to them at the Revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event: it was, therefore, thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of occasional conformity. He added, that it would be needless to repeal the act against schism, since no advantage had been taken of it to the prejudice of the Dissenters. Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, endeavoured to prove, that the occasional and schism acts were in effect persecuting laws; and that by admitting the principle of

self-defence and self-preservation, in matters of religion, all the persecutions maintained by the heathens against the professors of Christianity, and even the Popish Inquisition, might be justified. With respect to the power of which many clergymen appeared so fond and so zealous; he owned the desire of power and riches was natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reason and from the gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not entrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen. After a long debate, the House agreed to leave out some clauses concerning the Test and Corporation acts: then the bill was committed, and afterwards passed. In the Lower House it met with violent opposition, in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

§ XII. The King on the seventeenth day of December, sent a message to the Commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the King of Spain having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the King they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr. Shippen and some other members said, they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war, on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the House, that he had presented five-and-twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish Court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry paid very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation; inasmuch as it appeared by the answer from a Secretary of State to the letter of the Marquis de Monteleone,

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Monteleone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance; for it was there expressly said, that his Majesty, the King of Great-Britain, did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisitions, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed, that nobody could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended: but certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which the Regent of France had offered to the King of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the Emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the Upper House without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions.

§ XIII. Meanwhile Cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, for the gratification of his revenge. He caused new ships to be built, the sea-ports to be put in a posture of defence, succours to be sent to Sicily, and the proper measures to be taken for the security of Sardinia. He, by means of the Prince de Cellamare, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, caballed with the malcontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the Regent, and securing the person of the King. The Duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of this

this plot to King George, who gave him to understand, that a conspiracy was formed against his person and government. The Regent immediately took measures for watching the conduct of all suspected persons; but the whole intrigue was discovered by accident. The Prince de Cellamare entrusted his dispatches to the Abbé Portocarrero, and to a son of the Marquis de Monteleone. These emissaries set out from Paris in a post-chaise, and were overturned. The postillion overheard Portocarrero say, he would not have lost his portmanteau for a hundred thousand pistoles. The man, at his return to Paris, gave notice to the government of what he had observed. The Spaniards, being pursued, were overtaken and seized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the Regent found two letters that made him acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. The Prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers; the Duke of Maine, the Marquis de Pompadour, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many other persons of distinction, were committed to different prisons. The Regent declared war against Spain, on the twenty-ninth day of December; and an army of six-and-thirty thousand men began its march towards that kingdom in January, under the command of the Duke of Berwick. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ XIV. Cardinal Alberoni had likewise formed a scheme in favour of the Pretender. The Duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his Eminence; and measures were concerted for exciting another insurrection in Great-Britain. The Chevalier de St. George quitted Urbino by stealth; and embarking at Netteno, landed at Cagliari in March. From thence he took his passage to Roses in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality, and treated as King of Great-Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ships of war and transports, having

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on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand men. The command of this fleet was bestowed on the Duke of Ormond, with the title of Captain-General of his most Catholick Majesty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that King, importing, that for many good reasons he had sent part of his land and sea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to King James. His Britannick Majesty, having received from the Regent of France timely notice of this intended invasion, offered, by proclamation, rewards to those that should apprehend the Duke of Ormond, or any gentleman embarked in that expedition. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north, and in the west of England: two thousand men were demanded of the States-General: a strong squadron was equipped to oppose the Spanish armament; and the Duke of Orleans made a proffer to King George of twenty battalions for his service.

§ XV. His Majesty having communicated to both Houses of Parliament, the repeated advices he had received touching this projected descent, they promised to support him against all his enemies. They desired he would augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The Duke of Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, arrived in Scotland, with the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field-officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They were joined by a small body of Highlanders, and possessed themselves of Donan Castle. Against these adventurers General Wightman marched with a body of regular troops from Inverness.

Inverness. They had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel: but, at the approach of the King's forces, retired to the pass at Stratchell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the Highlanders dispersed; and next day the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some officers, retired to one of the western isles, in order to wait an opportunity of being conveyed to the continent. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ XVI. On the last day of February the Duke of Somerset represented in the House of Lords, that the number of Peers being very much increased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to take effectual measures for preventing the inconveniences that might attend the creation of a great number of Peers, to serve a present purpose: an expedient which had been actually taken in the late reign. He therefore moved that the bill should be brought in, to settle and limit the Peerage, in such a manner, that the number of English Peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations: that instead of the sixteen elective Peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and, that this number, upon failure of the heirs-male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scottish Peerage. This bill was intended as a restraint upon the Prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the Duke of Argyle, now Lord-Steward of the Household, the Earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the Earl of Oxford, who said, that although he expected nothing from the Crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the King to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned

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journed to the second day of March, when Earl Stanhope delivered a message from the King, intimating, that as they had under consideration the state of the British Peerage, he had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation, as might secure the freedom and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work. Another violent debate ensued between the two factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, Whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, Whether the Tory or the Whig interest should predominate in Parliament? Earl Cowper affirmed, that the part of the bill relating to the Scottish Peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of Union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice, as it would deprive persons of their right, without being heard, and without any pretence or forfeiture on their part. He observed, that the Scottish Peers excluded from the number of the twenty-five would be in a worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom; for they would be neither electing nor elected, neither representing nor represented. These objections were over-ruled: several resolutions were taken agreeably to the motion; and the Judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. This measure alarmed the generality of Scottish Peers, as well as many English Commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut up against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as an encroachment upon the fundamental maxims of the constitution. Treatises were writ and published on both sides of the question: and a national clamour began to arise, when Earl Stanhope observed, in the House, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it advisable to postpone the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It

Annals. Corbet. Tindal. Hist. Reg. Deb. in Parliam. Lives of the Admirals.

was accordingly dropped, and the Parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, on which occasion his Majesty told both Houses, that the Spanish King had acknowledged the Pretender. CHAP. II. 1718.

§ XVII. The King having appointed Lords Justices to rule the kingdom in his absence, embarked in May for Holland, from whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new Queen of Sweden. By this treaty Sweden yielded for ever to the royal and electoral House of Brunswick, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: King George obliged himself to pay a million of rix-dollars to the Queen of Sweden; and to renew, as King of Great-Britain and Elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly subsisting between his predecessors and that kingdom. He likewise mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes and Prussians, and the Poles. The Czar, however, refused to give up his schemes of conquest. He sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landing, to the number of fifteen thousand, committed dreadful outrages: but Sir John Norris, who commanded an English squadron in those seas, having orders to support the negociations, and oppose any hostilities that might be committed, the Czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, thought proper to recal his fleet. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Byng acted with unwearied vigour in assisting the Imperialists to finish the conquest of Sicily. The Court of Vienna had agreed to send a strong body of forces to finish the reduction of that Island; and the command in this expedition was bestowed upon the Count de Merci, with whom Sir George Byng conferred at Naples. This Admiral supplied them with ammunition and artillery from the Spanish prizes. He took the whole reinforcement under his convoy, and saw them safely landed in the bay of Patti, to the number of An. 1719.

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three thousand five hundred horse, and ten thousand infantry. Count Merci thinking himself more than a match for the Spanish forces commanded by the Marquis de Lede, attacked him in a strong camp at Franca-Villa: and was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, himself being dangerously wounded in the action. Here his army must have perished for want of provision, had not they been supplied by the English navy.

§ XVIII. Admiral Byng no sooner learned the bad success of the attack at Franca-Villa, than he embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, whom he sent under a convoy through the Faro to Scheso-bay, in order to reinforce the Imperial Army. He afterwards assisted at a council of war with the German Generals, who, in consequence of his advice, undertook the siege of Messina. Then he repaired to Naples, where he proposed to Count Gallas, the new viceroy, that the troops destined for the conquest of Sardinia should be first landed in Sicily, and so operate towards the conquest of that island. The proposal was immediately dispatched to the Court of Vienna. In the mean time, the Admiral returned to Sicily, and assisted at the Siege of Messina. The town surrendered: the garrison retired into the citadel: and the remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were now destroyed in the Mole. The Emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English Admiral, to whom he wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had dispatched orders to the Governor of Milan, to detach the troops designed for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. The Admiral charged himself with the performance of this service. Having furnished the Imperial army before Messina with another supply of cannon, powder, and shot, upon his own credit, he set sail for Vado, where he surmounted numberless difficulties, started by the jealousy

jealousy of Count Bonneval, who was unwilling to see his troops, destined for Sardinia, now diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy the chief command. At length, Admiral Byng saw the forces embarked, and convoyed them to Messina, the citadel of which surrendered in a few days after their arrival. By this time the Marquis de Lede had fortified a strong post at Castro-Giovanne, in the centre of the island: and cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea. The Imperialists could not pretend to attack him in this situation, nor could they remain in the neighbourhood of Messina, on account of the scarcity of provisions. They would, therefore, have been obliged to quit the island during the winter, had not the Admiral undertaken to transport them by sea to Trapani, where they could extend themselves in a plentiful country. He not only executed this enterprise; but even supplied them with corn from Tunis, as the harvest of Sicily had been gathered into the Spanish magazines. It was the second day of March before the last embarkation of the Imperial troops were landed at Trapani.

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§ XIX. The Marquis de Lede immediately retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his Mareschal de Camp to Count Merci and the English Admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. The proposals were not disagreeable to the Germans; but Sir George Byng declared that the Spaniards should not quit the island while the war continued, as he foresaw that these troops would be employed against France or England. He agreed, however, with Count Merci, in proposing, that if the Marquis would surrender Palermo, and retire into the middle part of the island, they would consent to an armistice for six weeks, until the sentiments of their different Courts should be known. The Marquis offered to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of Arms for three months;

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but, while this negociation was depending, he received advice from Madrid, that a general peace was concluded. Nevertheless, he broke off the treaty, in obedience to a secret order for that purpose. The King of Spain hoped to obtain the restitution of St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, and other places taken in the course of the war, in exchange for the evacuation of Sicily. Hostilities were continued until the Admiral received advice from the Earl of Stair at Paris, that the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague had signed the quadruple alliance. By the same courier packets were delivered to the Count de Merci and the Marquis de Lede, which last gave the Admiral and Imperial General to understand that he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded; and was ready to treat for a cessation of hostilities. They insisted upon his delivering up Palermo; on the other hand, he urged, that as their masters were in treaty, for settling the terms of evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, he did not think himself authorised to agree to a cessation, except on condition that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their principals. After a fruitless interview between the three chiefs at the Cassine de Rossignola, the Imperial General resolved to undertake the siege of Palermo: with this view he decamped from Alcamo on the eighteenth day of April, and followed the Marquis de Lede, who retreated before him, and took possession of the advantageous posts that commanded the passes into the plain of Palermo: but Count Merci, with indefatigable diligence, marched over the mountains, while the Admiral coasted along shore, attending the motions of the army. The Spanish General perceiving the Germans advancing into the plain, retired under the cannon of Palermo, and fortified his camp with strong entrenchments. On the second day of May the Germans took one of the enemy's redoubts by surprise, and the Marquis

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de Lede ordered all his forces to be drawn out to retake this fortification: both armies were on the point of engaging, when a courier arrived in a felucca, with a packet for the Marquis, containing full powers to treat and agree about the evacuation of the island, and the transportation of the army to Spain. He forthwith drew off his army; and sent a trumpet to the General and Admiral, with letters, informing them of the orders he had received. Commissioners were appointed on each side, the negociations begun, and the convention signed in a very few days. The Germans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Tauromini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona. CHAP. II. 1719.

§ XX. The Admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; in consequence of which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master. In a word, Admiral Byng bore such a considerable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly on his courage, vigilance, and conduct. When he waited on his Majesty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception. The King told him he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the Court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms, with respect to his candid and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great-Britain: in a little time the King ennobled him, by the title of Viscount Torrington: he was declared a privy-counsellor; and afterwards made Knight of the Bath, at

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the revival of that order. During these occurrences in the Mediterranean, the Duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort-Passage and destroyed six ships of war that were on the stocks: then he reduced Fontarabia and St. Sebastian's, together with Port Antonio in the bottom of the bay of Biscay. In this last exploit the French were assisted by a detachment of English seamen, who burned two large ships unfinished, and a great quantity of naval stores. The King of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expence of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South-America. Four thousand men, commanded by Lord Cobham, were embarked at the isle of Wight, and sailed on the twenty-first day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by Admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty; and Point-a-Vedra submitted without resistance; here they found some brass artillery, small arms, and military stores, with which they returned to England. In the mean time Captain Johnson, with two English ships of war, destroyed the same number of Spanish ships in the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortegas; so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. The expedition to the West-Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He now perceived the madness of Alberoni's ambitious projects. That minister was personally disagreeable to the Emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had declared they would hearken to no proposals while he should continue in office: the Spanish Monarch, therefore, divested him of his employment; and ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks. The Marquis de Beretti Landi, minister

nister from the Court of Madrid at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the States; but it was rejected by the Allies; and Philip was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance. CHAP. II. 1719.

§ XXI. On the fourteenth day of November, King George returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the session of Parliament with a speech, in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great-Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and councils. He exhorted the Commons to concert proper means for lessening the debts of the nation; and concluded with a panegyrick upon his own government. It must be owned he had acted with equal vigour and deliberation in all the troubles he had encountered since his accession to the throne. The addresses of both Houses were as warm as he could desire. They in particular extolled him for having interposed in behalf of the Protestants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppressed by the practices of the Popish clergy, and presented to him memorials, containing a detail of their grievances. He and all the other Protestant powers warmly interceded in their favour; but the grievances were not redressed. The Peerage-bill was now revived by the Duke of Buckingham; and in spite of all opposition, passed through the House of Lords. It had been projected by Earl Stanhope, and eagerly supported by the Earl of Sunderland; therefore, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it in the House of Commons with extraordinary vehemence. Here too it was opposed by a considerable number of Whig members; and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Parliament was a bill for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the House of Peers in England, from a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which was reversed.

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The British Peers ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The Barons obeyed this order; and the Irish House of Peers passed a vote against them, as having acted in derogation to the King's prerogative in his high court of Parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof; they, likewise, ordered them to be taken into custody of the Usher of the Black Rod; they transmitted a long representation to the King, demonstrating their right to the final judicature of causes: and the Duke of Leeds, in the Upper House, urged fifteen reasons to support the claim of the Irish Peers. Notwithstanding these arguments, the House of Lords in England resolved that the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the Crown of Great-Britain. They addressed the King to confer on them some marks of his Royal favour, as a recompence for the ill usage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree, given or made, in any court within that kingdom. In the House of Commons it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Hungerford, Lords Molesworth and Tyrconnel; but was carried by the majority and received the Royal assent.

§ XXII. The King having recommended to the Commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, was a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation. The scheme was projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislabie, the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the Secretaries of State. He answered all their objections; and the project was adopted. They foresaw their own private advantage in the execution of the design, which was imparted in the name of the South-Sea Company, of which Blunt was a director, who influenced all their proceedings. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt, by reducing all the funds into one. The Bank and South-Sea Company outbid each other. The South-Sea Company altered their original plan, and offered such high terms to Government, that the proposals of the Bank were rejected; and a bill was ordered to be brought into the House of Commons, formed on the plan presented by the South-Sea Company. While this affair was in agitation, the stock of that company rose from one hundred and thirty to near four hundred, in consequence of the conduct of the Commons, who had rejected a motion for a clause in the bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company should be vested in those proprietors of the annuities who might voluntarily subscribe; or how many years' purchase in money they should receive in subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. In the House of Lords, the bill was opposed by Lord North and Grey, Earl Cowper, the Dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other Peers. They affirmed it was calculated for enriching a few and impoverishing a great number; that it countenanced the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which diverted the genius of the people from trade and industry: that it would give foreigners the opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in the publick funds; and they would be tempted to realise and withdraw their capital and immense gains to other countries; so that Great-Britain would be drained of its gold and silver; that the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy

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decoy many unwary people to their ruin, alluring them by a false prospect of gain to part with the fruits of their industry, to purchase imaginary riches: that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such power to the South-Sea Company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation; for by their extensive interest they would be able to influence most, if not all the elections of the members; and consequently over-rule the resolutions of the House of Commons. Earl Cowper urged, that in all publick bargains the individuals in the administration ought to take care, that they should be more advantageous to the state than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-Sea Company; for, should the stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company or its principal members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties: and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project. The Earl of Sunderland answered their objections. He declared that those who countenanced the scheme of the South-Sea Company, had nothing in view but the advantage of the nation. He owned that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation; but, he said, when the scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee that the stocks would have risen to such a height: that if they had continued as they were, the publick would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from the scheme; and should they be kept up to the present high price,

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it was but reasonable that the South-Sea Company should enjoy the profits procured to it by the wise management and industry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accomplish the purpose of the scheme. The bill passed without amendment or division; and on the seventh day of April, received the Royal assent. By this act the South Sea Company was authorized to take in, by purchase or subscription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, stated at sixteen millions five hundred forty six thousand four hundred eighty-two pounds, seven shillings, one penny farthing, at such times as they should find convenient before the first day of March of the ensuing year, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. They were likewise authorized to take in all the redeemable debts, amounting to the same sum as that of the irredeemables, either by purchase, by taking subscriptions, or by paying off the creditors. For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock accordingly, the company consented that their present, and to be increased annuity, should be continued at five per cent. till Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by Parliament. In consideration of this, and other advantages expressed in the act, the company declared themselves willing to make such payments into the receipt of the Exchequer as were specified for the use of the publick, to be applied to the discharge of the publick debts incurred before Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen. The sums they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half's purchase for all long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities

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nuities as should not be subscribed, amounted on the execution of the act to about seven millions. For enabling the company to raise this sum, they were empowered to make calls for money from their members; to open books of subscription; to grant annuities redeemable by the company; to borrow money upon any contract or bill under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock; to convert the money demanded of their members into additional stock, without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities, payable out of the publick duties. It was enacted, that out of the first monies arising from the sums paid by the company into the exchequer, such publick debts, carrying interest at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, founded upon any former act of Parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, should be discharged in the first place: that then all the remainder should be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as should then carry an interest of five per cent. It was likewise provided, that after Midsummer, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the company should not be paid off in any sums being less than one million at a time.

§ XXIII. The heads of the Royal-Assurance and London-Assurance companies, understanding that the civil-list was considerably in arrears, offered to the ministry six hundred thousand pounds towards the discharge of that debt, on condition of their obtaining the King's charter, with a parliamentary sanction, for the establishment of their respective companies. The proposal was embraced; and the King communicated it in a message to the House of Commons, desiring their concurrence. A bill was imme-

immediately passed, enabling his Majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies. It soon obtained the Royal assent: and, on the eleventh day of June, an end was put to the session. This was the age of interested projects, inspired by a venal spirit of adventure, the natural consequence of that avarice, fraud, and profligacy, which the monied corporations had introduced. This of all others is the most unfavourable æra for an historian. A reader of sentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or interested by a dry detail of such transactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, no embellishment, a detail which serves only to exhibit an inanimate picture of tasteless vice and mean degeneracy. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXIV. By this time an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded at Stockholm between King George and the Queen of Sweden, by which his Majesty engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to act against the Czar of Muscovy, in case that Monarch should reject reasonable proposals of peace. Peter loudly complained of the insolent interposition of King George, alleging that he had failed in his engagements, both as Elector of Hanover and King of Great-Britain. His resident at London presented a long memorial on this subject, which was answered by the British and Hanoverian ministry. These recriminations served only to inflame the difference. The Czar continued to prosecute the war, and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. At the instances, however, of King George and the Regent of France, a treaty of peace was signed between the Queen of Sweden and the King of Prussia, to whom that Princess ceded the city of Stetin, the district between the rivers Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom. On the other hand, he engaged to join the King of Great-Britain in his endeavours to effect a peace between Sweden and Denmark, on condition that the Danish King should restore

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restore to Queen Ulrica that part of Pomerania which he had seized; he likewise promised to pay to that Queen two millions of rix-dollars, in consideration of the cessions she had made. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Frederickstadt in the month of June, through the mediation of the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee for the Dane's keeping possession of Sleswick. He consented, however, to restore the Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the city of Wismar, and whatever he had taken from Sweden during the war, in consideration of Sweden's renouncing the exemption from toll in the Sound, and the two Belts: and paying to Denmark six hundred thousand rix-dollars.

§ XXV. Sir John Norris had again sailed to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to give weight to the King's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen he wrote a letter to Prince Dolgorouki, the Czar's Ambassador at the Court of Denmark, signifying that he and the King's envoy at Stockholm were vested with full powers to act jointly or separately in quality of plenipotentaries, in order to effect a peace between Sweden and Muscovy, in the way of mediation. The Prince answered that the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity; and in case his Britannick Majesty had any proposals to make to that Prince, he hoped the Admiral would excuse him from receiving them, as they might be delivered in a much more compendious way. The English fleet immediately joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries; but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, and sister to Charles XII. had married the Prince of Hesse, and was extremely desirous that he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. She wrote a separate letter to each of the Four States, desiring they would confer on him the sovereignty; and after some opposition from the nobles, he was actually

tually elected King of Sweden. He sent one of his general officers to notify his elevation to the Czar, who congratulated him upon his accession to the throne; this was the beginning of a negociation which ended in peace, and established the tranquillity of the North. In the midst of these transactions, King George set out from England for his Hanoverian dominions; but, before he departed from Great-Britain, he was reconciled to the Prince of Wales, through the endeavours of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole, who, with Earl Cowper, Lord Townshend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and re-united with the ministry. The Earls of Dorset and Bridgewater were promoted to the title of Dukes: Lord Viscount Castleton was made an Earl; Hugh Boscawen was created a Baron, and Viscount Falmouth; and John Wallop, Baron, and Viscount of Lymington. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXVI. While the King was involved at Hanover in a labyrinth of negociations, the South-Sea scheme produced a kind of national delirium in his English dominions. Blunt, the projector, had taken the hint of his plan from the famous Mississippi scheme formed by Law, which in the preceding year had raised such a ferment in France, and entailed ruin upon many thousand families of that kingdom. In this scheme of Law, there was something substantial. An exclusive trade to Louisiana promised some advantage; though the design was defeated by the frantick eagerness of the people. Law himself became the dupe of the Regent, who transferred the burthen of fifteen hundred millions of the King's debts to the shoulders of the subject; while the projector was sacrificed as the scape-goat of political iniquity. The South-Sea scheme promised no commercial advantage of any consequence. It was buoyed up by nothing but the folly and rapaciousness of individuals, which became so blind and extravagant, that Blunt, with moderate talents, was

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able to impose upon the whole nation, and make tools of the other directors, to serve his own purposes, and those of a few associates. When this projector found that the South-Sea stock did not rise according to his expectation upon the bill's being passed, he circulated a report, that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-Sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days this stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings, or explaining the scandalous arts that were practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that by the promise of prodigious dividends, and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand; and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstances, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange-Alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the prime nobility. The Prince of Wales was constituted

tuted Governor of the Welsh copper company: the Duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings company: the Duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About a hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised, that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the mean time he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom. The King, before his departure, had issued a proclamation against these unlawful projects; the Lords-Justices afterwards dismissed all the petitions that had been presented for charters and patents; and the Prince of Wales renounced the company of which he had been elected Governor. The South-Sea scheme raised such a flood of eager avidity and extravagant hope, that the majority of the directors were swept along with it, even contrary to their own sense and inclination; but Blunt and his accomplices still directed the stream.

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§ XXVII. The infatuation prevailed till the eighth day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then did some of the adventurers awake from their delirium. The number of the sellers daily increased. On the twenty-ninth day of the month

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the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty: several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment, and abscond. The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent, that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families were overwhelmed with ruin. Publick credit sustained a terrible shock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment; and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fradulent transactions: when they saw the price of stock sinking daily, they employed all their influence with the Bank to support the credit of the South-Sea company. That corporation agreed, though with reluctance, to subscribe into the stock of the South-Sea company, valued at four hundred per cent. three millions five hundred thousand pounds, which the company was to repay to the Bank on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the ensuing year. This transaction was managed by Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with his own hand, wrote the minute of agreement, afterwards known by the name of the Bank Contract. Books were opened at the Bank, to take in a subscription for the support of publick credit: and considerable sums of money were brought in. By this expedient the stock was raised at first, and those who contrived it seized the opportunity to realize. But the bankruptcy of goldsmiths and the sword-blade company, from the fall of South-Sea-stock, occasioned such a run upon the Bank, that the money was paid away faster than it could be received from the subscription. Then the South-Sea-stock sunk again; and the directors of the Bank, finding themselves in danger of being involved in that company's ruin, renounced the agreement, which, indeed, they were under no obligation to perform, for it was drawn up in such a manner, as to be no more than the rough draft of a subsequent agreement,

agreement, without due form, penalty, or clause of obligation. All expedients having failed, and the clamours of the people daily increasing, expresses were dispatched to Hanover, representing the state of the nation, and pressing the King to return. He accordingly shortened his intended stay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXVIII. The Parliament being assembled on the eighth day of December, his Majesty expressed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had so deeply affected the publick credit at home: he earnestly desired the Commons to consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting establishment. The Lower House was too much interested in the calamity, to postpone the consideration of that subject. The members seemed to lay aside all party distinctions, and vie with each other in promoting an inquiry, by which justice might be done to the injured nation. They ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, that a select committee might be appointed, to examine the particulars of this transaction. Mr. Walpole, now paymaster of the forces, observed, that such a method would protract the inquiry, while the publick credit lay in a bleeding condition. He told the House he had formed a scheme for restoring publick credit; but before he would communicate this plan, desired to know whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state. After a warm debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, with this addition, "Unless altered for the ease and relief of "the proprietors, by a general court of the South-"Sea company, or set aside in due course of law." Next day Walpole produced his scheme, to engraft

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nine millions of South-Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, on certain conditions. The House voted, that proposals should be received from the Bank, and those two companies, on this subject. These being delivered, the Commons resolved, that an engrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-Sea company, into the capital stock of the Bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, would contribute very much to the restoring publick credit. A bill upon this resolution was brought in, passed through both Houses, and received the Royal assent. Another bill was enacted into a law, for restraining the Sub-governor, Deputy-governor, Directors, Treasurer, Under-treasurer, Cashier, Secretary, and Accomptants, of the South-Sea company, from quitting the kingdom, till the end of the next session of Parliament; and for discovering their estates and effects, so as to prevent them from being transported or alienated. A committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine all the books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-Sea act.

§ XXIX. The Lords were not less eager than the Commons to prosecute this inquiry, though divers members in both Houses were deeply involved in the guilt and infamy of the transaction. Earl Stanhope said the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to repair the publick losses. He was seconded by Lord Carteret, and even by the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Wharton declared he would give up the best friend he had, should he be found guilty. He observed, that the nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; therefore, they ought to find out and punish the offenders severely, without respect to persons. The sub and deputy-governors, the Directors and officers of the South-Sea company, were examined at the bar of the House. Then a bill was brought in, disabling them

them to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were likewise examined, and made great discoveries. Knight, the treasurer of the South-Sea company, who had been entrusted with the secrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom. A proclamation was issued to apprehend him; and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. At this period, the secret committee informed the House of Commons, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which in due time they would lay before the House: in the mean while, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal officers of the South-Sea company, as well as to seize their papers. An order was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir George Caswell, Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellowes, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody. Sir Theodore Jansen, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir Robert Chaplain, and Mr. Eyles were expelled the House, and apprehended. Mr. Aislabie resigned his employments of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord of the Treasury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from the places they possessed under the government.

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§ XXX. The Lords, in the course of their examination, discovered that large portions of South-Sea stock had been given to several persons in the administration and House of Commons, for promoting the passing of the South-Sea act. The House immediately resolved, that this practice was a notorious and most dangerous species of corruption: that the directors of the South-Sea company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when it was at

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at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of stock: and at the same time several of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stock to the company, such directors and officers were guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust, and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that had so much affected public credit. Many other resolutions were taken against that infamous confederacy, in which, however, the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Sir John Blunt refusing to answer certain interrogations, a violent debate arose about the manner in which he should be treated. The Duke of Wharton observed, that the government of the best Princes was sometimes rendered intolerable to their subjects by bad ministers: he mentioned the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Earl Stanhope conceiving this reflection was aimed at him, was seized with a transport of anger. He undertook to vindicate the ministry; and spoke with such vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to retire. He underwent proper evacuations, and seemed to recover: but next day, in the evening, became lethargick, and being seized with a suffocation, instantly expired. The King deeply regretted the death of this favourite minister; which was the more unfortunate as it happened at such a critical conjuncture: and he appointed Lord Townshend to fill his place of secretary. Earl Stanhope was survived but a few days by the other secretary, Mr. Craggs, who died of the small-pox on the sixteenth day of February. Knight, the cashier of the South-Sea company, being seized at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp. Application

tion was made to the Court of Vienna, that he should be delivered to such persons as might be appointed to receive him: but he had found means to interest the states of Brabant in his behalf. They insisted upon their privilege granted by charter, that no person apprehended for any crime in Brabant should be tried in any other country. The House of Commons expressed their indignation at this frivolous pretence: instances were renewed to the Emperor: and in the mean time Knight escaped from the citadel of Antwerp. CHAP. II. 1720.

§ XXXI. The committee of secrecy found, that, before any subsciption could be made, a fictitious stock of five hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds had been disposed of by the directors, to facilitate the passing the bill. Great part of this was distributed among the Earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs, senior, the Dutchess of Kendal, the Countess of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. Secretary Craggs, and Mr. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In consequence of the committee's report, the House came to several severe, though just resolutions against the directors and officers of the South-Sea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy sufferers. Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the Treasury, charged in the report with having large quantities of stock and subscriptions, desired that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. His request was granted; and the affair being discussed, he was cleared by a majority of three voices. Fifty thousand pounds in stock had been taken by Knight for the use of the Earl of Sunderland. Great part of the House entered eagerly into this inquiry; and a violent dispute ensued. The whole strength of the ministry was mustered in his defence. The majority declared him innocent: the nation in general was of another opinion. He resigned his place of first commissioner in the Treasury, which was bestowed

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upon Mr. Robert Walpole; but he still retained the confidence of his master. With respect to Mr. Aislabie, the evidence appeared so strong against him, that the Commons resolved, he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of publick credit. He was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs, senior, died of the lethargy, before he underwent the censure of the House. Nevertheless, they resolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore, that all the estate of which he was possessed, from the first day of December in the preceding year, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea company. The directors, in obedience to the order of the House, delivered in inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of Parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for each, according to his conduct and circumstances.

Oldmixon. Annals. Hist. Reg. Polit. State. Deb. in Parliam. Tindal.

An. 1721. § XXXII. The delinquents being thus punished by the forfeiture of their fortunes, the House converted their attention to means for repairing the mischiefs which the scheme had produced. This was a very difficult task, on account of the contending interests of those engaged in the South-Sea company, which rendered it impossible to relieve some but at the expence of others. Several wholesome resolutions were taken, and presented with an address to the King, explaining the motives of their proceedings. On the twenty-ninth day of July, the Parliament was prorogued for two days only. Then his Majesty going to the House of Peers, declared that he had called them together again so suddenly, that they might resume the consideration of

of the state of publick credit. The Commons immediately prepared a bill upon the resolutions they had taken. The whole capital stock, at the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the publick. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the Company in their own right; it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the publick, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed: of which the Parliament discharged all the debtors, upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six million nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions; and the Parliament in the sequel revived that sum which had been annihilated. While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were presented to the House, crying for justice against the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were daily published

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on the same subject; so that the whole nation was exasperated to the highest pitch of resentment. Nevertheless, by the wise and vigorous resolutions of the Parliament, the South-Sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the publick: the ferment of the people subsided; and the credit of the nation was restored.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§ I. *Bill against atheism and immorality postponed.* § II. *Session closed.* § III. *Alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Spain.* § IV. *Plague at Marseilles.* § V. *Debates in the House of Lords about Mr. Law the projector.* § VI. *Sentiments of some Lords touching the war with Spain.* § VII. *Petition of the Quakers. The Parliament dissolved.* § VIII. *Rumours of a conspiracy. The Bishop of Rochester is committed to the Tower.* § IX. *New Parliament.* § X. *Declaration of the Pretender.* § XI. *Report of the Secret Committee.* § XII. *Bill of pains and penalties against the Bishop of Rochester.* § XIII. *Who is deprived, and driven into perpetual exile.* § XIV. *Proceedings against those concerned in the lottery at Harburgh.* § XV. *Affairs of the Continent.* § XVI. *Clamour in Ireland on account of Wood's coinage.* § XVII. *Death of the Duke of Orleans.* § XVIII. *An act for lessening the publick debts.* § XIX. *Philip, King of Spain, abdicates the throne.* § XX. *Abuses in chancery.* § XXI. *Trial of the Earl of Macclesfield.* § XXII. *Debates about the debts of the civil list.* § XXIII. *A bill in favour of the late Lord Bolingbroke.* § XXIV. *Treaty of alliance between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid.* § XXV. *Treaty of Hanover.* § XXVI. *Approved in Parliament.* § XXVII. *Riots in Scotland on account of the malt-tax.* § XXVIII. *A small squadron sent to the Baltic.* § XXIX. *Admiral Hosier's expedition to the West Indies.* § XXX. *Disgrace of the Duke de Ripperda.* § XXXI. *Substance of the King's speech to Parliament.* § XXXII. *Debate in the House of Lords upon the approaching rupture with the Emperor and Spain.* § XXXIII. *Memorial of Mr. Palms, the Imperial Resident at London.* § XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. *Conventions with Sweden and Hesse-Cassel.* § XXXV. *Vote of Credit.* § XXXVI. *Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards.* § XXXVII. *Preliminaries of peace.* § XXXVIII. *Death and character of George* I. *King of Great Britain.*

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§ I. DURING the infatuation produced by this infamous scheme, luxury, vice, and profligacy, increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported: they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment: they indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess: their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and the most ridiculous ostentation: they affected to scoff at religion and morality; and even to set heaven at defiance. The Earl of Nottingham complained in the House of Lords of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality; and a bill was brought in for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles seemingly calculated to restrain the liberty granted to nonconformists by the laws of the last session; for that reason it met with violent opposition. It was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Bathurst, and Trevor, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Litchfield and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity occasioned by the South-Sea project was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble "Peer must then be a great sinner, for he has lost "considerably by the South-Sea scheme." The Duke of Wharton, who had rendered himself famous by his wit and profligacy, said he was not insensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself,

and

and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion. On the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scripture. Then pulling an old family bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding with a desire that the bill might be thrown out. The Earl of Peterborough declared, that though he was for a parliamentary King, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and should the House declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a Cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their Lordships upon those terms. After a vehement debate, the bill was postponed to a long day, by a considerable majority. CHAP. III. 1721.

§ II. The season was far advanced before the supplies were granted: and at length they were not voted with that cheerfulness and good humour which the majority had hitherto manifested on such occasions. On the sixteenth day of June, the King sent a message to the House of Commons, importing, that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to the Crown of Sweden, and he hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. The leaders of the opposition took fire at this intimation. They desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds was to be paid to Sweden over and above the expence of maintaining a strong squadron in the Baltick? Lord Molesworth observed that, by our late conduct, we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies: for we were obliged to pay them well for their assistance. He affirmed that the treaties which had been made with Sweden, at different times, were inconsistent and contradictory: that our late engagements with that Crown were contrary to the treaties subsisting

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subsisting with Denmark; and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muscovy. He said, that in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained in the course of the war, the King of Prussia ought to give up Stetin, and the Elector of Hanover restore Bremen and Verden: that, after all, England had no business to intermeddle with the affairs of the Empire: that we reaped little or no advantage by our trade to the Baltic, but that of procuring naval stores; he owned that hemp was a very necessary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but he insisted, that if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway. Notwithstanding these arguments, the Swedish supply was granted; and, in about three weeks, their complaisance was put to another proof. They were given to understand, by a second message, that the debts of the civil-list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and his Majesty hoped they would empower him to raise that sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, as well as from the pensions and other payments from the Crown. A bill was prepared for this purpose, though not without warm opposition; and, at the same time, an act passed for a general pardon. On the tenth day of August, the King closed the session with a speech, in which he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, with respect to the South-Sea scheme. These professions were judged necessary to clear his own character, which had incurred the suspicion of some people, who whispered that he was not altogether free from connections with the projectors of that design; that the Emperor had, at his desire, refused to deliver up Knight;

Knight; and that he favoured the directors and their accomplices. CHAP. III.

§ III. Lords Townshend and Cartaret were now appointed secretaries of state: and the Earl of Ilay was vested with the office of lord privy-seal of Scotland. In June the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. The contracting parties engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. In particular, the King of England promised to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were sold. He likewise promised, in a secret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Italy; and the King of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. At the same time, a defensive alliance was concluded between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congress at Cambray, where they hoped to consolidate a general peace, by determining all differences between the Emperor and his Catholick Majesty. In the mean time, the powers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, engaged, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant to the Duke of Parma a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity. It was also stipulated, that the States-General should be invited to accede to this alliance. The congress at Cambray was opened: but the demands on both sides were so high, that it proved ineffectual. In the mean time, the peace between Russia and Sweden was concluded on condition that the Czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in consideration of his restoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rix-dollars to the King of Sweden. The personal animosity subsisting between King George and the Czar seemed to increase. Bastagi, 1721.

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the Russian resident at London, having presented a memorial that contained some unguarded expressions, was ordered to quit the kingdom in a fortnight. The Czar published a declaration at Petersburgh, complaining of this outrage, which, he said, ought naturally to have engaged him to use reprisals; but, as he perceived it was done without any regard to the concerns of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest, he was unwilling that the English nation should suffer for a piece of injustice in which they had no share. He, therefore, granted to them all manner of security, and free liberty to trade in all his dominions. To finish this strange tissue of negociations, King George concluded a treaty with the Moors of Africk, against which the Spaniards loudly exclaimed.

§ IV. In the course of this year, Pope Clement XI. died; and the Princess of Wales was delivered of a Prince, baptized by the name of William-Augustus, the late Duke of Cumberland. A dreadful plague raging at Marseilles, a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England, from any part of France between the Bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. Other precautions were taken to guard against contagion. An act of Parliament had passed in the preceding session, for the prevention of infection, by building pest-houses, to which all infected persons, and all persons of an infected family, should be conveyed: and, by drawing trenches and lines round any city, town, or place infected. The King, in his speech at opening the session of parliament, on the nineteenth day of October, intimated the pacification of the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between Muscovy and Sweden. He desired the House of Commons to consider of means for easing the duties upon the imported commodities used in the manufactures of the kingdom. He observed, that the nation might be supplied with naval stores

stores from our own colonies in North-America; and that their being employed in this useful and advantageous branch of commerce would divert them from setting up manufactures which directly interfered with those of Great-Britain. He expressed a desire that, with respect to the supplies, his people might reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad: and he earnestly recommended to their consideration, means for preventing the plague, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling. CHAP. III. 1721.

§ V. One of the first objects that attracted the attention of the Upper House was the case of John Law, the famous projector. The resentment of the people, on account of his Mississippi scheme had obliged him to leave France. He retired to Italy; and was said to have visited the pretender at Rome. From thence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by Sir John Norris. The King favoured him with a private audience: he kept open house, and was visited by great numbers of persons of the first quality. Earl Coningsby represented in the House of Lords, that he could not but entertain some jealousy of a person who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom; who, being immensely rich, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with those who were grown desperate, in consequence of being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. He observed, that this person was the more dangerous, as he had renounced his natural affection to his country, his allegiance to his lawful Sovereign, and his religion, by turning Roman Catholick. Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman, in a duel; but, having at last received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased

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being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majesty's pardon. He said there was no law to keep an Englishman out of his country; and, as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over After some dispute, the subject was dropped, and this great projector pleaded his pardon in the King's-Bench, according to the usual form.

§ VI. The ministry had by this time secured such a majority in both Houses, as enabled them to carry any point without the least difficulty. Some chiefs of the opposition they had brought over to their measures, and among the rest Lord Harcourt, who was created a Viscount, and gratified with a pension of four thousand pounds. Nevertheless they could not shut the mouths of the minority; who still preserved the privilege of complaining. Great debates were occasioned by the navy-debt, which was increased to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Some members in both Houses affirmed that such extraordinary expence could not be for the immediate service of Great-Britain; but, in all probability, for the preservation of foreign acquisitions. The ministers answered, that near two-thirds of the navy-debts were contracted in the late reign; and the Parliament acquiesced in this declaration: but in reality, the navy-debt had been unnecessarily increased, by keeping seamen in pay during the winter, and sending fleets to the Mediterranean and Baltic, in order to support the interests of Germany. The Duke of Wharton moved that the treaty with Spain might be laid before the House. The Earl of Sunderland said it contained a secret article which the King of Spain desired might not be made publick, until after the treaty of Cambray should be discussed. The question was put, and the Duke's motion rejected. The Earl of Strafford asserted, that as the war with Spain had been undertaken without necessity or just provocation,

tion, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage: that, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war; even while a British minister and a secretary of state were treating amicably at Madrid; that the war was neither just nor politick, since it interrupted one of the most valuable branches of the English commerce, at a time when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, incurred by the former long, expensive war. He, therefore, moved for an address to his Majesty, desiring that the instructions given to Sir George Byng, now Lord Torrington, should be laid before the House. This motion being likewise, upon the question, rejected, a protest was entered. They voted an address, however, to know in what manner the King had disposed of the ships taken from the Spaniards. Disputes arose also from the bill to prevent infection. Earl Cowper represented, that the removal of persons to a Lazaret, or pest-house, by order of the government, and the drawing lines and trenches round places infected, were powers unknown to the British constitution; inconsistent with the lenity of a free government, such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; the more odious, because copied from the arbitrary government of France; and impracticable, except by military compulsion. These obnoxious clauses were accordingly repealed, though not without great opposition. Indeed, nothing can be more absurd than a constitution that will not admit of just and necessary laws and regulations to prevent the dire consequences of the worst of all calamities. Such restrictions, instead of favouring the lenity of a free government, would be the most cruel imposition that could be laid on a free people, as it would act in diametrical opposition to the great principle of society which is the preservation of the individual.

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§. VII. The Quakers having presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that a bill might be brought in for omitting in their solemn affirmation the words "In the presence of Almighty God," the House complied with their request: but the bill gave rise to a warm debate among the Peers. Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, said he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians. He was supported by the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Strafford, and Lord North and Grey. A petition was presented against the bill by the London Clergy, who expressed a serious concern lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescensions made by a Christian legislature, to a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians. The petition, though presented by the Archbishop of York, was branded by the ministry as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. Then, upon a motion by the Earl of Sunderland, the House resolved, that such Lords as might enter protestations with reasons should do it before two o'clock on the next sitting day, and sign them before the House rises. The supplies being granted, and the business of the session dispatched as the Court was pleased to dictate, on the seventh day of March the Parliament was prorogued. In a few days it was dissolved, and another convoked by a proclamation. In the election of members for the new Parliament the ministry exerted itself with such success, as returned a great majority in the House of Commons, extremely well adapted for all the purposes of administration*.

Annals. Hist. Reg. Deb. in Parliam. Pol. State. Tidnal.

§ VIII.

* The Earl of Sunderland died in April, after having incurred a great load of popular odium, from his supposed connections with the directors of

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§ VIII. In the beginning of May, the king is said to have received from the Duke of Orleans full and certain information of a fresh conspiracy formed against his person and government. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park. All military officers were ordered to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-General Macartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from that kingdom. Some suspected persons were apprehended in Scotland: the States of Holland were desired to have their auxiliary or guarantee troops in readiness to be embarked; and Colonel Churchill was sent to the Court of France with a private commission. The apprehension raised by this supposed plot affected the publick credit. South-Sea stock began to fall; and crowds of people called in their money from the Bank. Lord Townshend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the King's command, signifying his Majesty's having received unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects had entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender; but that he was firmly assured the authors of it neither were nor would be supported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately answered by an affectionate address from the court of aldermen; and the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The King had determined to visit Hanover, and actually settled a regency, in which the Prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aside; the Court was

of the South-Sea company. He was a minister of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and head-strong. His death was soon followed by that of his father-in-law, the great Duke of Marlborough, whose faculties had been for some time greatly impaired. He was interred in Westminster-abbey; with such profusion of funeral pomp, as evinced the pride and ostentation, much more than the taste and concern of those who directed his obsequies. He was succeeded as master of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, by Earl Cadogan.

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removed to Kensington, and the Prince retired to Richmond. The Bishop of Rochester having been seized, with his papers, was examined before a committee of the council, who committed him to the Tower for high-treason. The Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, Mr. Cockran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland, and Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple, were confined in the same place. Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonshire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Irish priest, and several persons, were taken into custody; and Mr. Shippen's house was searched. After Bishop Atterbury had remained a fortnight in the Tower, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the Old Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, that prelate's daughter, praying, that, in consideration of the Bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, bailed, or discharged: but this was over-ruled. The Churchmen through the whole kingdom were filled with indignation at the confinement of a Bishop, which they said was an outrage upon the Church of England, and the episcopal order. Far from concealing their sentiments on this subject, the clergy ventured to offer up publick prayers for his health, in almost all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster. In the mean time, the king, attended by the Prince of Wales, made a summer progress through the western counties.

§ IX. The new Parliament being assembled on the ninth day of October, his Majesty made them acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. He said the conspirators had, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for succours from foreign powers; but were disappointed in their expectations. That, nevertheless, confiding in their numbers, they had resolved once more, upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of his government. He said

said they had provided considerable sums of money; engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confusion. He expatiated upon the mildness and integrity of his own government; and inveighed against the ingratitude, the implacability, and madness of the disaffected, concluding with an assurance, that he would steadily adhere to the constitution in Church and State, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and measure of all his actions. Such addresses were presented by both Houses as the fears and attachment of the majority may be supposed to have dictated on such an occasion. A bill was brought into the House of Lords, for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to such an unusual length of time. By this suspension they, in effect, vested the ministry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the people.

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§ X. The opposition in the House of Commons was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it necessary to alarm their apprehensions by a dreadful story of a design to seize the Bank and Exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the Royal Exchange. Their passions being inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, they passed the bill, which immediately received the Royal assent. The Duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council, and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of high-treason. On the sixteenth day of November, the King sent to the House of Peers the original and printed copy of a declaration signed by the Pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth day of September, in the present year, and appeared to be a proposal addressed to the subjects of Great-Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign

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foreign Princes and States. In this paper, the Chevalier de St. George, having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections, conspiracies invented to give a colour to new oppressions, infamous informers, and the state of proscription in which he supposed every honest man to be, very gravely proposed, that if King George would relinquish to him the throne of Great-Britain, he would, in return, bestow upon him the title of King in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it: he likewise promised, to leave to King George his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever, in due course, his natural right should take place. The Lords unanimously resolved, that this declaration was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The Commons concurred in these resolutions. Both Houses joined in an address, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the Pretender; and assuring his Majesty, they were determined to support his title to the Crown with their lives and fortunes. The Commons prepared a bill for raising one hundred thousand pounds upon the real and personal estates of all Papists, or persons educated in the Popish religion, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders. The bill, though strenuously opposed by some moderate members, as a species of persecution, was sent up to the House of Lords, together with another, obliging all persons, being Papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the King's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills passed through the Upper House without amendments, and received the Royal sanction.

§ XI. Mr. Layer, being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, on the twenty-first day of November,

ber, was convicted of having inlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion, and received sentence of death. He was reprieved for some time, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons: but he either could not, or would not, discover the particulars of the conspiracy, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple-Bar. Mr. Pulteney, chairman of the Committee, reported to the House, that, from the examination of Layer and others, a design had been formed by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the throne of these realms: that their first intention was to procure a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators being disappointed in this expectation, resolved to make an attempt at the time that it was generally believed the King intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers as could pass into England unobserved, from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose; at which time the Tower was to have been seized. That this scheme being also defeated by the vigilance of the government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army: that it appeared from several letters and circumstances that the late Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Orrery, Lord North and Grey, and the Bishop of Rochester, were concerned in this conspiracy; that their acting agents were Christopher Layer and John Plunket, who travelled together to Rome; Dennis Kelly, George Kelly, and Thomas Carte, nonjuring clergymen, Neynoe the Irish priest, who by this time was drowned in the river Thames,

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in attempting to make his escape from the messenger's house, Mrs. Spilman, alias Yallop, and John Sample.

§ XII. This pretended conspiracy, in all likelihood, extended no farther than the first rudiments of a design that was never digested into any regular form; otherwise the persons said to be concerned in it must have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy: for they were charged with having made application to the Regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the King of Great-Britain. The House of Commons however resolved, that it was a detestable and horrid conspiracy for raising a rebellion, seizing the Tower and the city of London, laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred Majesty and the Prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a popish Pretender upon the throne; that it was formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad. Bills were brought in, and passed, for inflicting pains and penalties against John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by these acts to be kept in close custody during his Majesty's pleasure, in any prison in Great-Britain; and that they should not attempt to escape on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their assistants. Mr. Yonge made a motion for a bill of the same nature against the Bishop of Rochester. This was immediately brought into the House, though Sir William Wyndham affirmed there was no evidence against him but conjectures and hearsay. The Bishop wrote a letter to the Speaker, importing, that, though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the House any trouble that day, contenting himself with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Council being heard for the bill, it was committed to

Annals. Tindal. Deb. in Parliam. Pol. State.

to a grand committee on the sixth day of April, when the majority of the Tory members quitted the House. It was then moved, that the Bishop should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever. Mr. Lawson and Mr. Oglethorpe spoke in his favour. CHAP. III. 1722.

§ XIII. The bill being passed, and sent up to the Lords, the Bishop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May. Himself and his counsel having been heard, the Lords proceeded to consider the articles of the bill. When they read it a third time, a motion was made to pass it, and then a long and warm debate ensued. Earl Paulet demonstrated the danger and injustice of swerving in such an extraordinary manner from the fixed rules of evidence. The Duke of Wharton, having summed up the depositions, and proved the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that, let the consequences be what they would, he hoped such a hellish stain would never sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious House as to condemn a man without the least evidence. Lord Bathurst spoke against the bill with equal strength and eloquence. He said, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. He observed, that Cardinal Mazarin boasted, that if he had but two lines of any man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumstances, attested by witnesses, deprive him of his life at his pleasure. Turning to the bench of Bishops, who had been generally unfavourable to Dr. Atterbury, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of Rochester, unless they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some savage Indians, An. 1723.

who

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who believed they inherited not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they had killed in battle. The bill was supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Lechmere, which last was answered by Earl Cowper. This nobleman observed that the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill was necessity: but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify such unprecedented and such dangerous proceedings, as the conspiracy had above twelve months before been happily discovered, and the effects of it prevented: that besides the intrinsick weight and strength of the government, the hands of those at the helm had been still further fortified by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the additional troops which had been raised. He said the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birthright of every subject in the nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both Houses of Parliament, till altered by the legislature; that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the post-office was a very dangerous precedent. In former times (said he) it was thought very grievous that in capital cases a man should be affected by similitude of hands; but here the case is much worse, since it is allowed that the clerks of the post-office should carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. He applauded the Bishop's noble deportment, in declining to answer before the House of Commons, whose proceedings in this unprecedented manner, against a Lord of Parliament, was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if they submitted to it, by passing the bill, they might be termed the last of British Peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. The other party were not so solicitous about answering reasons, as eager to put the question,

tion, when the bill passed, and a protest was entered. By this act the bishop was deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future: he was banished the realm, and subjected to the pains of death in case he should return, as were all persons who should correspond with him during his exile. Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, who was a member of the House, and had exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the Bishop, was now taken into custody, on suspicion of treasonable practices. CHAP. III. 1723.

§ XIV. The next object that excited the resentment of the Commons was the scheme of a lottery, to be drawn at Harburgh, in the King's German dominions. The House appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries at that time on foot in London. The scheme was published, on pretence of raising a subscription for maintaining a trade between Great-Britain and the King's territories on the Elbe: but it was a mysterious scene of iniquity, which the committee, with all their penetration, could not fully discover. They reported, however, that it was an infamous, fraudulent undertaking, whereby many unwary persons had been drawn in, to their great loss: that the manner of carrying it on had been a manifest violation of the laws of the kingdom: that the managers and agents of this lottery had, without any authority for so doing, made use of his Majesty's Royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his Majesty's subjects to engage or be concerned therein. A bill was brought in to suppress this lottery; and to oblige the managers of it to make restitution of the money they had received from the contributors. At the same time the House resolved, That John Lord Viscount Barrington had been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on that fraudulent undertaking; for which offence he should be expelled the House. The Court of Vienna having erected

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erected an East-India company at Ostend, upon a scheme formed by one Colebrook, an English merchant; Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the House of Commons the great detriment which the English East-India company had already received, and were likely further to sustain, by this Ostend company. The House immediately resolved, that for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, was a high crime and misdemeanour; and a law was enacted for preventing British subjects from engaging in that enterprize. By another act, relating to the South-Sea company, the two millions of stock which had been annihilated were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law passed, for the more effectual execution of justice in a part of Southwark, called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken sanctuary, on the supposition that it was a privileged place. On the twenty-seventh day of May the session was closed, with a speech that breathed nothing but panegyrick, acknowledgment, and affection to a Parliament which had complied with all his Majesty's wishes.

§ XV. His Majesty, having ennobled the son of Mr. Robert Walpole, in consideration of the father's services, made a good number of church promotions. He admitted the imprisoned Lords and Gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to Lord Bolingbroke; and ordered the Bishop of Rochester to be conveyed to the continent. Then he himself set out for Hanover, leaving the administration of his kingdoms in the hands of a regency, Lord Harcourt being one of the Justices. The King was attended by the two secretaries, Lords Townshend and Carteret, who were counted able negociators. The affairs of the continent had begun to take a new turn. The interests and connections of the dif-

ferent Princes were become perplexed and embarrassed; and King George resolved to unravel them by dint of negociation. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between the Czar and the King of Sweden, favourable to the Duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, the possession of which the Elector of Hanover had guaranteed to Denmark, his Majesty began to be in pain for Bremen and Verden. The Regent of France and the King of Spain had now compromised all differences; and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage between Philip's sons and the Regent's daughters. The former proposed new treaties to England; but insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, as well as upon the King's openly declaring against the Ostend company. His Britannick Majesty was apprehensive, that, should the Emperor be hard pressed on that subject, he might join the Czar and the King of Sweden, and promote their designs in favour of the Duke of Holstein. On the other hand, all the Italian powers exclaimed against the treaty of London. The Pope had protested against any thing that might have been decided at Cambray to the prejudice of his right. Memorials to the same effect had been presented by the King of Sardinia, the Dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. France and Spain were inclined to support these potentates against the House of Austria. Europe seemed to be on the eve of a new war. King George was entangled in such a variety of treaties and interests, that he knew not well how to extricate himself from the troublesome engagements he had contracted. By declaring for the Emperor, he must have countenanced the new establishment at Ostend, which was so prejudicial to his British subjects, and incurred the resentment of France, Spain, and their allies of Italy. In renouncing the interest of the Emperor, he would have exposed his German dominions. In vain he exhorted the Em-

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peror to relax in his disputes with Spain, and give up the Ostend company, which was so detrimental and disagreeable to his faithful allies: the Court of Vienna proposed in general to observe the treaties which it had concluded, but declined entering into any particular discussion; so that all his Majesty's endeavours issued in contracting closer connections with Prussia and Denmark. All those negociations carried on, all those treaties concluded by King George, with almost every Prince and State in Christendom, which succeeded one another so fast, and appear, at first view, so intricate and unaccountable, were founded upon two simple and natural principles, namely, the desire of ascertaining his acquisitions as Elector of Hanover, and his resolution to secure himself against the disaffection of his British subjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender.

§ XVI. Great-Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little ruffled by an incident which seemed to have been misrepresented to the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furnishing Ireland with copper currency, in which it was deficient. A great clamour was raised against this coin. The Parliament of that kingdom, which met in September, resolved, That it would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: that the patent had been obtained by misrepresentation: that the halfpence wanted weight: that, even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loss to the nation: that granting the power of coinage to a private person had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence. Addresses from both Houses were presented to the King on this subject. The affair was referred to the Lords of the privy-council of England. They justified the conduct

duct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Isaac Newton and other officers of the Mint, who had made the assay and trial of Wood's half-pence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in goodness, fineness, and value of metal, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of King Charles II. King James II. King William and Queen Mary. The privy council likewise demonstrated, that his Majesty's predecessors had always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons: that none of these patents had been so beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in every particular: finally, they proved, by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such money in Ireland. Notwithstanding this decision, the ferment of the Irish nation was industriously kept up by clamour, pamphlets, papers, and lampoons, written by Dean Swift and other authors; so that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage from the value of one hundred thousand to that of forty thousand pounds. Thus the noise was silenced. The Commons of Ireland passed an act, for accepting the affirmation of the Quakers instead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the debt of the nation, which amounted to about double that sum. CHAP. III. 1723.

§ XVII. In the month of October, England lost a worthy nobleman in the death of Earl Cowper, who had twice discharged the office of Lord Chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a

BOOK II. manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful. This year was likewise remarkable for the death of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who, since the decease of Louis XIV. had ruled that nation with the most absolute authority. He was a prince of taste and spirit, endowed with shining talents for empire, which he did not fail to display, even in the midst of effeminate pursuits and idle debauchery. From the infirm constitution of the infant King, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and taken his measures accordingly; but the young Monarch's health began to be established, and all the Duke's schemes were defeated by an apoplexy, of which he died, in the fiftieth year of his age, after having nominated the Duke of Bourbon as prime-minister. King George immediately received assurances of the good disposition of the French Court, to cultivate and even improve the good understanding so happily established between France and Great Britain. The King arrived in England on the eighteenth day of December: and on the ninth day of January the Parliament was assembled. His Majesty, in his speech, recommended to the Commons the care of the publick debts; and he expressed his satisfaction at seeing the sinking fund improved and augmented, so as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being speedily and gradually discharged.

1723.

§ XVIII. This was the repeated theory of patriotism, which, unhappily for the subjects, was never reduced to practice: not but that a beginning of such a laudable work was made in this very session, by an act for lessening the publick debts. This law provided that the annuities at five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except such as had been subscribed into the South-Sea, together with the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery in the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, should be paid off at Lady-day of the year next ensuing,

suing, with the money arising from the sinking fund. The ministry, however, did not persevere in this path of prudent œconomy. The Commons granted all the supplies that were demanded. They voted ten thousand seamen; and the majority, though not without violent opposition, agreed to maintain four thousand additional troops, which had been raised in the preceding year; so that the establishment of the land forces amounted to eighteen thousand two hundred and sixty-four. The expence of the year was defrayed by a land-tax and malt-tax. The Commons having dispatched the supply, took into consideration a grievance arising from protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of Parliament, under which profligate persons used to screen themselves from the prosecution of their just creditors. The Commons resolved, That all protections granted by members of that House should be declared void, and immediately withdrawn. The Lords made a declaration to the same purpose, with an exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of Peers*. On the twenty-fourth day of April, his Majesty closed the session in the usual manner, made some alterations in the disposition of the great offices of state, and sent Mr. Horatio Walpole as Ambassador-extraordinary to the Court of France.

CHAP. III.

1723?

Oldmixon. Pol. State. Hist. Reg. Annals of K. George. Mem. Hist. Tindal.

An. 1724.

* The Duke of Newcastle was now appointed Secretary of State; the Duke of Grafton, Lord Chamberlain; and Lord Cartaret, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The King instituted a Professorship for the modern languages in each university.

In the month of May died Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and completed a very valuable collection of manuscripts.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was by this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two Princesses Amelia and Carolina, the Duke of Bedford and his sister, with many other persons of distinction, underwent this operation with success.

Dr. Henry Sacheverel died in June, after having bequeathed five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester.

BOOK II.

1724.

§ XIX. In the beginning of this year, Philip King of Spain, retiring with his Queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, sent the Marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son Louis, Prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the Crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the Blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion; and put himself and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, That Louis might assume the reins of government without assembling the Cortez. The English minister at Paris was instructed to interpose in behalf of the French Protestants, against whom a severe edict had been lately published; but his remonstrances produced no effect. England, in the mean time, was quite barren of such events as deserve a place in history. The government was now firmly established on the neck of opposition; and commerce flourished even under the load of grievous impositions.

§ XX. The next Parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November, seemed to be assembled for no other purpose than that of establishing funds for the expence of the ensuing year: yet the session was distinguished by a remarkable incident: namely, the trial of the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor of England. This nobleman had connived at certain venal practices touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the Masters of Chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation. He found it necessary to resign the great seal in the beginning of January. On the ninth day of the ensuing month, the King sent a message to the Commons, importing, that his Majesty, having reason to apprehend that the suitors in the Court of Chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money, from the insufficiency of some of the Masters, thought himself obliged in justice

justice and compassion to the said sufferers, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the Masters' accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors; and his Majesty having had several reports laid before him, in pursuance of the directions he had given, had ordered the reports to be communicated to the House, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings would admit. CHAP. III. 1724.

§ XXI. These papers being taken into consideration, Sir George Oxenden observed, that enormous abuses had crept into the high court of Chancery: that the crimes and misdemeanours of the late Lord Chancellor were many and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunaticks: that he had raised the offices of Masters in chancery to an exorbitant price: trusting in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. He therefore moved, That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Pulteney moved, That this affair might be left to the consideration of a select committee. Sir William Wyndham asserted, that in proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports from above, they would make a dangerous precedent; and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state criminals. The question being put, it was carried for the impeachment. The Earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the Upper House: a committee was appointed to prepare articles; and a bill was brought in, to indemnify the Masters in Chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what consi-

Annals. Hist.Mem. Deb. in Parliam. Tindal.

deration

BOOK II. 1724. deration they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days: the Earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but upon producing the money he was discharged: and Sir Peter King, now created Baron of Oakham, succeeded him in the office of Chancellor.

An. 1725. § XXII. His Majesty, on the 8th day of April, gave the House of Commons to understand, that having been engaged in some extraordinary expences, he hoped he should be enabled to raise a sum of money, by making use of the funds lately established for the payment of the civil-list annuities, in order to discharge the debts contracted in the civil government. Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, moved for an address, That an account should be laid before the House of all monies paid for secret service, pensions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and one, and to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the present year. This address being voted, a motion was made to consider the King's message. Mr. Pulteney urged, that this consideration should be postponed until the House should have examined the papers that were the subject of the address. He expressed his surprize, that a debt amounting to above five hundred thousand pounds should be contracted in three years; he said, he did not wonder that some persons should be so eager to make good the deficiencies of the civil-list, since they and their friends enjoyed such a share of that revenue; and he desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they should expect another reckoning? This gentleman began to be dissatisfied with the measures of the ministry; and his sarcasms were aimed at Mr. Walpole, who undertook

took to answer his objections. The Commons took the message into consideration, and passed a bill, enabling his Majesty to raise a sum, not exceeding one million, by Exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six-pence per pound, directed by an act of Parliament, of the seventh year of his Majesty, and of the civil-list revenues, at an interest not exceeding three pounds per cent. till repayment of the principal. CHAP. III. 1725.

§ XXIII. On the twentieth day of April, a petition was presented to the House by Lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, praying that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeitures might be suspended, as a pardon had suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole signified to the House, by his Majesty's command, that, seven years before, the petitioner had made his humble application and submission to the King, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity: that, from his behaviour since that time, his Majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the House. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences; and therefore deserved the favour of that House, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his Majesty's pardon, without an act of Parliament. Lord Finch moved, that a bill might be brought in for this purpose; and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by Lord William Paulet, and Mr. Onslow; nevertheless, the bill was prepared, passed through both Houses, and received the Royal assent. An act being passed for disarming the Highlanders of Scotland; another for regulating elections within the city of London; a third

BOOK II. 1725.

third for reducing the interest of several Bank annuities, together with some bills of a private nature, the Parliament was prorogued in May, after the King had, in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, expressed his approbation of their conduct. Then he appointed Lords Justices to govern the nation in his absence: and set out in June for his German dominions*.

§ XXIV. The tide of political interests on the continent had begun to flow in a new channel, so as to render ineffectual the mounds which his Britannick Majesty had raised by his multiplicity of negociations. Louis, the Spanish monarch, dying soon after his elevation to the throne, his father Philip resumed the crown which he had resigned; and gave himself up implicitly to the conduct of his Queen, who was a Princess of indefatigable intrigue and insatiate ambition. The Infanta, who had been married to Louis XV. of France, was so disagreeable to her husband, that the whole French nation began to be apprehensive of a civil war, in consequence of his dying without male issue; he therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send back the Infanta, as the nuptials had not been consummated: and she was attended to Madrid by the Marquis de Monteleone. The Queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and in revenge, dismissed Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the Regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. As the congress at Cambray had proved ineffectual, she offered to

* On the fifth day of December the Princess of Wales was delivered of a Princess, christened by the name of Louisa, and afterwards married to the King of Denmark. She died December the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one.

Immediately after the session of Parliament, the King revived the Order of the Bath, thirty-eight in number, including the Sovereign.

William Bateman was created Baron of Calmore in Ireland, and Viscount Bateman; and Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived Knights of the Bath, was now honoured with the Order of the Garter.

adjust

adjust her differences with the Emperor, under the sole mediation of Great-Britain. This was an honour which King George declined. He was averse to any undertaking that might interrupt the harmony subsisting between him and the Court of Versailles; and he had taken umbrage at the Emperor's refusing to grant the investiture of Bremen and Verden except upon terms which he did not choose to embrace. The peace between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid which he refused to mediate was effected by a private negociation, under the management of the Duke de Ripperda, a native of the States-General, who had renounced the Protestant religion, and entered into the service of his Catholick Majesty. By two treaties, signed at Vienna in the month of April, the Emperor acknowledged Philip as King of Spain and the Indies, promised that he would not molest him in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the Emperor by the treaty of London: Charles granted the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia to the eldest son of the Queen of Spain, in default of heirs in the present possessors, as masculine fiefs of the Empire. Spain became guarantee of the Austrian succession, according to the pragmatick sanction, by which the dominions of that House were settled on the Emperor's heirs general, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable feoffment to the primogeniture. By the commercial treaty of Vienna, the Austrian subjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. His Catholick Majesty guaranteed the Ostend East-India-company; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piastres to the Emperor. Great sums were remitted to Vienna: the Imperial forces were augmented to a formidable number; and other

CHAP. III. 1725.

BOOK II. powers were solicited to engage in this alliance, to which the Court of Petersburgh actually acceded.

1725. § XXV. The King of Great-Britain took the alarm. The Emperor and he had for some time treated each other with manifest coolness. He had reason to fear some attempts upon his German dominions; and projected a defensive treaty with France and Prussia. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was negociated and concluded at Hanover in the month of September. It implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, and an engagement to procure satisfaction to the protestants of Thorn, who had lately been oppressed by the Catholicks, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. The King, having taken these precautions at Hanover, set out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetsluys in the middle of December; and after having been exposed to the fury of a dreadful storm, was landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London. The Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of the next month, he gave them to understand that the distressed condition of some of their Protestant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by some foreign powers, which seemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers such measures as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable; and put a stop to the further progress of such dangerous designs. He told them, that the enemies of his government were already very busy, by their instruments and emissaries in those courts whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender.

tender. One sees, at first sight, that the interests of Germany dictated the treaty of Hanover; but, in order to secure the approbation of Great-Britain, upon which the support of this alliance chiefly depended, it was judged necessary to insert the articles relating to commerce and the protestant religion, as if the engagement had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England. In a word, the ministry began now to ring the changes upon a few words that have been repeated ever since, like cabalistical sounds, by which the nation has been enchanted into a very dangerous connection with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they insisted upon the machinations of the disaffected, the designs of a Popish Pretender, the Protestant interest, and the balance of power, until these expressions became absolutely terms of ridicule with every person of common sense and reflection. The people were told, that the Emperor and the King of Spain, exclusive of the publick treaties concluded at Vienna, had entered into private engagements, importing, that the Imperialists should join the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar and Port-Mahon by force of arms, in case the King of England should refuse to restore them amicably, according to a solemn promise he had made: that a double marriage should take place between the two infants of Spain, and the two Archduchesses of Austria; and that means should be taken to place the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain.

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§ XXVI. When the treaties of Vienna and Hanover fell under consideration of the House of Commons, Horatio Walpole, afterwards termed, in derision, "the balance master," opened the debate with a long unanimated oration, giving a detail of the affairs of Europe since the treaty of Utrecht. He enumerated the barrier treaty, the convention for executing that treaty, the defensive alliance with the Emperor, the other with the Most Christian King

BOOK II. 1725.

King and the States-General, another convention, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty at Hanover, and that of Vienna. He explained the nature of each engagement. He said, the main design of the treaty of commerce concluded between the Emperor and Spain, was to countenance and support the East-India company established at Ostend, which interfered so essentially with the East-India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. He enlarged upon the danger to which the balance of power would be exposed, should the issue-male of this projected marriage between the Houses of Austria and Spain ever possess the Imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. The reader will take notice, that this very man was one of those who exclaimed against that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the power of those two Houses from being immediately united in the person of the Emperor. He did not forget to expatiate upon the pretended secret engagement concerning Gibraltar and Minorca; and the King's pious concern for the distressed Protestants of Thorn in Poland. In vain did Mr. Shippen urge, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions, contrary to an express provision made in the act of limitation. These arguments had lost all weight. The opposition was so inconsiderable, that the ministry had no reason to be in pain about any measure they should propose. An address was voted and delivered to his Majesty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain: and promising to support his Majesty against all insults and attacks that should be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain.

tain. An address of the same kind was presented by the House of Lords in a body. A bill was brought in, empowering the commissioners of the treasury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treasurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the Crown, amounting to eight-and-forty thousand pounds. This deficiency was occasioned by his embarking in the South-Sea scheme. The King recommended his petition; and the House complied with his request, in consideration of his great grandfather; the famous John Hampden, who made such a noble stand against the arbitrary measures of the first Charles.

CHAP. III. 1725.

§ XXVII. The malt-tax was found so grievous to Scotland, that the people refused to pay it, and riots were excited in different parts of the kingdom. At Glasgow, the populace, armed with clubs and staves, rifled the house of Daniel Campbell, their representative in Parliament, who had voted for the bill; and maltreated some excisemen, who attempted to take an account of the malt. General Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, had sent two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Bushel, to prevent or appease a disturbance of this nature. That officer drew up his men in the street, where they were pelted with stones by the multitude, which he endeavoured to disperse by firing among them without shot. This expedient failing, he ordered his men to load their pieces with ball, and at a time when the magistrates were advancing towards him in a body, to assist him with their advice and influence, he commanded the soldiers to fire four different ways, without the sanction of the civil authority. About twenty persons were killed or wounded on this occasion. The people seeing so many victims fall, were exasperated beyond all sense of danger. They began to procure arms, and breathed nothing but defiance and revenge. Bushel thought proper to retreat to the Castle of Dumbarton;

BOOK II. 1725. Dumbarton; and was pursued above five miles by the enraged multitude. General Wade being informed of this transaction, assembled a body of forces; and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, Lord-advocate, took possession of Glasgow. The magistrates were apprehended, and conveyed prisoners to Edinburgh, where the Lords Justiciary, having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent; so that they were immediately discharged. Bushel was tried for murder, convicted, and condemned: but instead of undergoing the penalties of the law, he was indulged with a pardon, and promoted in the service. Daniel Campbell having petitioned to the House of Commons, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had sustained from the rioters, a bill passed in his favour, granting him a certain sum to be raised from an imposition laid upon all the beer and ale brewed in the city of Glasgow. The malt-tax was so sensibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the Royal burghs presented a remonstrance against it, as a grievous burthen, which their country could not bear: petitions to the same purpose were delivered to the Commons from different shires of that king-
An. 1726. dom*. On the twenty-fourth day of March, the King sent a message to the House by Sir Paul Methuen, desiring an extraordinary supply, that he might be able to augment his maritime force, and concert such other measures as should be necessary in the present conjuncture. A debate ensued; but the majority complied with the demand. Some members in the Upper House complained that the

Oldmixon. Annals. Debates in Parliam. Mem. Hist. Tindal.

* The Duke of Wharton having consumed his fortune in riot and extravagance, repaired to the Court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his service to the Pretender. There he received the Order of the Garter, and the title of Duke of Northumberland. He was sent by the Chevalier de St. George with credentials to the Court of Madrid, where he abjured the Protestant religion, married a lady of the Queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Spanish service.

message

message was not sent to both Houses of Parliament, and this suggestion gave rise to another debate, in which Lord Bathurst and others made some melancholy reflections upon the state of insignificance to which the Peers of England were reduced. Such remarks, however, were very little minded by the ministry; who had obtained a complete victory over all opposition. The supplies, ordinary and extraordinary, being granted, with every thing else which the Court thought proper to ask, and several bills passed for the regulation of civil œconomy, the King dismissed the Parliament on the twenty-fourth day of May. CHAP. III. 1726.

§ XXVIII. By this time Peter the Czar of Muscovy was dead, and his Empress Catharine had succeeded him on the Russian throne. The Princess had begun to assemble forces in the neighbourhood of Petersburgh; and to prepare a formidable armament for a naval expedition. King George, concluding that her design was against Sweden, sent a strong squadron into the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, in order to anticipate her views upon his allies. The English fleet being joined at Copenhagen by a Danish squadron, alarmed the Court of Russia, which immediately issued orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronstot, Revel, and Riga. The English Admiral, having had an audience of his Swedish Majesty, steered towards Revel, and sent thither a Lieutenant, with a letter from the King of Great-Britain to the Czarina. This was an expostulation, in which his Majesty observed, that he and his allies could not fail of being alarmed at her great preparations by sea and land. He complained that measures had been taken at her Court in favour of the Pretender: that his repeated instances for establishing a lasting friendship with the Crown of Russia had been treated with neglect: and he gave her to understand, that he had ordered his Admiral to

BOOK II. 1726.

prevent her ships from coming out of her harbours, should she persist in her resolution to execute the designs she had projected. The Czarina, in her answer to the King, expressed her surprise that she had not received his Majesty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, since it would have been more agreeable to the custom established among Sovereigns, and to the amity which had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the Crown of Great-Britain, to expostulate with her on her armament, and expect her answer, before he had proceeded to such an offensive measure. She assured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any designs to disturb the peace of the North; and with regard to the Pretender, it was a frivolous and stale accusation, which had been frequently used as a pretext to cover all the unkind steps lately taken against the Russian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his station until he received certain intelligence that the Russian gallies were laid up in their winter harbour: then he set sail for the coast of Denmark, from whence he returned to England in the month of November.

§ XXIX. King George, that he might not seem to convert all his attention to the affairs of the North, had equipped two other squadrons: one of which was destined for the West-Indies, under the command of Admiral Hosier: the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land-forces, sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth day of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, then visited Lisbon, from whence he directed his course to the Bay of Bulls near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary's, so as to alarm the coast of Spain, and fill Madrid with consternation. Yet he committed no act of hostility: but was treated with great civility by the Spanish Governor of Cadiz, who supplied him with refreshments. Rear-Admiral Hosier, with seven ships of war, had sailed in April for the Spanish West-

West-Indies, with instructions to block up the galleons in the ports of that country; or should they presume to come out, to seize and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Bastimentos, near Porto-Bello, the treasure, consisting of above six millions sterling, had been unloaded, and carried back to Panama, in pursuance of an order sent by an advice boat, which had the start of Hosier. This Admiral lay inactive on that station, until he became the jest of the Spaniards. He returned to Jamaica, where he found means to reinforce his crews; then he stood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time seized the English South-Sea ship at La Vera-Cruz, together with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hosier in vain demanded restitution: he took some Spanish ships by way of reprisal, and continued cruising in those seas until the greater part of his men perished deplorably by the diseases of that unhealthy climate, and his ships were totally ruined by the worms. This brave officer being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against this unfortunate expedition, in which so many lives were thrown away, and so much money expended, without the least advantage to the nation. It seems to have been a mean piratical scheme to rob the Court of Spain of its expected treasure, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. The ministry of Great-Britain, indeed, alleged, that the Spanish King had entered into engagements in favour of the Pretender.

CHAP. III. 1726.

§ XXX. The Dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the Earl Marischal, were certainly at Madrid: and the Duke de Ripperda, now prime-minister of Spain, dropped some expressions to the English en-

BOOK II. 1726.

voy, that implied some such design, which, however, the Court of Madrid positively denied. Ripperda, as a foreigner, fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of the Spanish ministers. He was suddenly dismissed from his employments, with a pension of three thousand pistoles. He forthwith took refuge in the house of Vandermeer the Dutch Ambassador, who was unwilling to be troubled with such a guest. He therefore conveyed the Duke in his coach to the house of Colonel Stanhope, the British minister, whose protection he craved and obtained. Nevertheless, he was dragged from thence by force, and committed prisoner to the castle of Segovia. He afterwards made his escape, and sheltered himself in England, from the resentment of his Catholick Majesty. Colonel Stanhope complained of this violation of the law of nations, which the Spanish minister endeavoured to excuse. Memorials and letters passed between the two courts; and every thing tended to a rupture. The King of Spain purchased ships of war; began to make preparations for some important undertaking; and assembled an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. Meanwhile the States-General and the King of Sweden acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the King of Prussia, though his Majesty's son-in-law, was detached from the alliance by the Emperor, with whom he contracted new engagements.

§ XXXI. On the seventeenth day of January, the British Parliament was opened with a long, elaborate speech, importing that the proceedings and transactions of the Emperor and King of Spain, and the secret offensive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of the English nation, which must either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquiesce in the

Emperor's usurped exercise of commerce, or resolve vigorously to defend their undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the most solemn treaties. He assured them, that one of those secret articles was, the placing the Pretender on the throne of Great-Britain: and another the conquest of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. He affirmed that those combinations extended themselves into Russia; and that the English fleet seasonably prevented such designs as would have opened a way to the invasion of these kingdoms. He exhorted the Commons to grant such supplies as should be necessary for the defence of their country, and for making good his engagements with the allies of Great-Britain. He told them, that the King of Spain had ordered his minister residing in England to quit the kingdom; and that he had left a memorial little short of a declaration, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He did not fail to touch the energetick strings which always moved their passions; the balance of power in Europe, the security of the British commerce, the designs of a Popish Pretender, the present happy establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a Protestant people. Such addresses of thanks were penned in both Houses as the ministers were pleased to dictate: yet not without opposition from a minority, which was far from being formidable, though headed by chiefs of uncommon talents and resolution. The Commons voted twenty thousand seamen, besides six-and-twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-service; and, to defray the extraordinary expence, a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was granted.

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§ XXXII. The House of Lords having taken into consideration the letters and memorials between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the accession of the States-

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General to the treaty of Hanover, a warm debate ensued. Lord Bathurst took notice, that the accession of the States-General to the treaty was upon condition that this their act should be approved and ratified by the King of Great-Britain, the Most Christian King, and the King of Prussia; but that the minister of his Prussian Majesty had refused to sign the act of accession, which was therefore of no effect: that if the Court of France should, for the same reason, think itself disengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expensive war against two of the greatest potentates of Europe. He said he could not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain: that indeed the Duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indiscreet expressions; he was known to be a man of violent temper; and he had been solemnly disavowed by his Catholick Majesty: that, in the memorial left by the Spanish Ambassador, he imputed the violent state of affairs between the two Crowns to the ministers of England; and mentioned a positive promise made by the King of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar: that methods of accommodation might be tried, before the kingdom engaged in a war which must be attended with dangerous consequences: that the nation was loaded with a debt of fifty millions; and, in order to maintain such a war, would be obliged to raise seven millions yearly; an annual sum by which the people would soon be exhausted. He observed, that in some papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums distributed in divers places, to bring certain measures to bear. He declared, that for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and so long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his country. He, therefore, desired their Lordships seriously to consider

sider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. He said nothing could be gained by the war, should it prove successful: and every thing would be lost should it be unprosperous. He was answered by Lord Townshend, who affirmed that his Majesty had received positive and certain information with respect to the secret article of alliance between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the Pretender, though the safety of the State did not permit him to lay these advices before the Parliament. After much altercation, the majority resolved, that the measures his Majesty thought fit to take, were honourable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the Pretender: for preserving the dominions belonging to the Crown of Great-Britain by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Seventeen Lords entered a protest against this resolution. Disputes of the same nature arose from the same subject in the Lower House. Lord Townshend had affirmed in the House of Peers, that no promise of restoring Gibraltar had been made: Sir Robert Walpole owned such a promise in the House of Commons: a motion was made for an address, desiring these engagements might be laid before the House: another member moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the King of Sweden, and for the secret offensive article between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid: a third motion was made to address the King for such memorials and representations from the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, as induced him, in the course of the preceding year, to send a squadron to the Baltic. In the

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the account of the money granted for the service of the last year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were specified. Mr. Pulteney moved for an address on this subject; but each of these motions was rejected on a division: and the majority concurred in an address of thanks to his Majesty, for the great wisdom of his conduct. They expressed the most implicit confidence in his goodness and discretion, they promised to support him in all such further measures as he should find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, as well as for consulting the honour and advantage of these kingdoms.

§ XXXIII. His Majesty's speech gave such umbrage to the Court of Vienna, that Mr. Palms, the Imperial resident at London, was ordered to present a warm memorial to the King, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation. In this bold remonstrance, the King was charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, several things that were either wrested, misrepresented, or void of all foundation. The memorialist affirmed, that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance; that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, agreeably to the law of nations; and in no respect prejudicial to the British nation. He declared, that there was no offensive alliance concluded between the two Crowns: that the supposed article relating to the Pretender was an absolute falsehood: that the insinuation with respect to the siege of Gibraltar was equally untrue, his master having made no engagements with the King of Spain but such as were specified in the treaty communicated to his Britannick Majesty. He said however, the hostilities notoriously committed in the West-Indies, and elsewhere, against the King of Spain,

Spain, in violation of treaties, seemed to justify that Prince's undertaking the siege of Gibraltar. Finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial Majesty, suitable reparation for the injury his honour had sustained from such calumnious imputations. Both Houses of Parliament expressed their indignation at the insolence of this memorial, in an address to his Majesty; and Mr. Palms was ordered to depart the kingdom. Virulent declarations were presented by the ministers of the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain to the diet of the Empire at Ratisbon; and such personal reflections retorted between these two potentates, that all hope of reconciliation vanished. CHAP. III. 1726.

§ XXXIV. King George, in order to secure himself against the impending storm, entered into more strict engagements with the French King; and agreed to pay fifty thousand pounds for three years to the King of Sweden, in consideration of that Prince's holding in readiness a body of ten thousand troops for the occasions of the alliance. He concluded a fresh treaty with the King of Denmark, who promised to furnish a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large subsidy granted by the King of France. The proportions of troops to be sent into the field in case of a rupture, were ascertained. His Britannick Majesty engaged for four-and-twenty thousand men, and a strong squadron to be sent into the Baltic. He made a convention with the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who undertook to provide eight thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, in consideration of seventy-four thousand pounds, to be paid by Great-Britain immediately, and fifty thousand pounds more in case the troops should be required, besides their pay and subsistence. Such was the fruit of all the alliances so industriously planted since the accession of King George to the throne of Great-Britain. In the day of his trouble, the King of Prussia, who had espoused his daughter, deserted

Annals. Deb in Parliam. Tindal. Lives of the Admirals.

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An. 1727. § XXXV. For the support of those expensive treaties, Mr. Scroope, secretary of the Treasury, moved in the House of Commons, that in the malt-tax bill they should insert a clause of appropriation, empowering the King to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been, or should be made before the twenty-fifth day of September, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade, and restoring the peace of Europe. To little purpose did the members in the opposition urge, that this method of asking and granting supplies was unparliamentary: that such a clause would render ineffectual that appropriation of the publick money, which the wisdom of all Parliaments had thought a necessary security against misapplication, which was the more to be feared, as no provision was made to call any person to account for the money that should be disposed of by virtue of this clause: that great sums had already been granted: that such an unlimited power ought never to be given in a free government: that such a confidence in the Crown might, through the influence of evil ministers, be attended with the most dangerous consequences:

consequences: that the constitution could not be preserved, but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies upon estimates, and of appropriating these supplies to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary: that such clauses, if not seasonably checked, would become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the Crown and in the ministers, an absolute and uncontrolable power of raising money upon the people, which by the constitution is, and with safety can only be, lodged in the whole legislature. The motion was carried, the clause added, and the bill passed through the other House without amendment, though not without opposition. Notwithstanding this vote of credit, Sir William Yonge moved, that towards the supply granted to the King, the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be raised by loans on Exchequer-Bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the Parliament's disposal. Though this motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, as a dangerous deviation from several votes and acts of Parliament, by which the exceedings of the publick funds were appropriated to the discharge of the national debt, or to the increase of the sinking funds, it was carried by the majority. CHAP. III. 1727.

§ XXXVI. On the fifteenth day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the King had acknowledged their zeal, liberality, and dispatch: and given them to understand that the siege of Gibraltar was actually begun. The trenches were opened before this fortress on the eleventh day of February, by the Condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty thousand men. The place was well provided for a defence; and the old Earl of Portmore, who was Governor, embarked with a reinforcement from England, under convoy of a fleet commanded by Sir Charles Wager. He arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed the troops, with a great quantity

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quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and four-and-twenty pieces of cannon. At the same time, five hundred men arrived from Minorca: so that the garrison amounted to six thousand, plentifully supplied with fresh provisions from the coast of Barbary, and treated the efforts of the besiegers with great contempt. The States-General, being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired the King would hold in readiness the ten thousand auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty. These were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented with thirty new-raised companies. Sir John Norris set sail with a powerful fleet from the Baltic, and was joined by a Danish squadron: but the Czarina dying on the seventeenth day of May he had no occasion to commit hostilities, as the Russian armament was laid aside.

§ XXXVII. Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might again embroil all Europe. The King of France interposed his mediation, which was conducted by the Duke de Richlieu, his Ambassador at Vienna. Plans and counterplans of pacification were proposed between the two Crowns and the Allies. At length, all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed in May at Paris, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spanish Ambassadors. These imported, that hostilities should immediately cease: that the charter of the Ostend company should be suspended for seven years: and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the conveniency of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at Court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months,

months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little damage. The Court of Madrid, however, started some new difficulties, and for some time would not consent to the restitution of the South-Sea ship, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the West Indies; so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coast of Spain: but these objections were removed in the sequel.

§ XXXVIII. King George, having appointed a regency, embarked at Greenwich, on the third day of June, and landing in Holland, on the seventh, set out on his journey to Hanover. He was suddenly seized with a paralytick disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargick, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign.—George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect General, a just and merciful Prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued, his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British Constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted, that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry whose power and influence were founded on corruption.

* George I. married the Princess Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Zell, by whom he had King George II. and the late Queen of Prussia. The King's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors. From the death of Charles II. to this period, England had made a considerable figure in every branch of literature. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke distinguished themselves in divinity—

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divinity—Mr. Whiston wrote in defence of Arianism—John Locke shone forth the great restorer of human reason—the Earl of Shaftsbury raised an elegant, though feeble, system of moral philosophy—Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his contemporaries in subtlety and variety in metaphysical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction—Lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphysician have been questioned since his posthumous works appeared—great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy, by Wallis, Halley, and Flamstead—the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the classical Dr. Friend, and the elegant Dr. Mead—Among the poets of this æra we number John Phillips, author of a didactick poem, called Cyder, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity—William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity—Vanburgh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with far less art and precision—Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama—Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue—Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate; though he yielded to none in the character of an essayist, either for style or matter—Swift, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy, he was a cynick rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastick severity would have been unpleasing, had not he qualified them, by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais—Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing—Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory. Pope, the Prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethicks, and polished versification—the agreeable Parnel—the wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth—Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity, and whose genius for pastoral was truly original. Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of criticks and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

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CHAP. IV.

§ I. *George* II. *ascends the throne of Great-Britain.* § II. *Characters of the principal persons concerned in the ministry.* §. III. *Debates in Parliament concerning the civil-list.* § IV. *Changes and promotions.* § V. *New Parliament.* § VI. *Violent dispute concerning the national debt.* § VII. *Vote of credit.* § VIII. *A double marriage between the Houses of Spain and Portugal.* § IX. *Liberality of the Commons.* § X. *Debates on the subsidies of Hesse-Cassel and Wolfenbuttle.* § XI. *Committee for inspecting the gaols.* § XII. *Address touching the Spanish depredations.* § XIII. *A sum voted to the King on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenue.* § XIV. *Proceedings in the House of Lords.* § XV. *Wise conduct of the Irish Parliament.* § XVI. *Abdication of the King of Sardinia. Death of Pope Benedict* XIII. § XVII. *Substance of the King's speech to both Houses.* § XVIII. *Objections to the treaty of Seville in the House of Lords.* § XIX. *Opposition in the Lower House to a standing army.* § XX. *Bill prohibiting loans to foreign Princes or States.* § XXI. *Charter of the East-India Company prolonged.* § XXII. *The Emperor resents the treaty of Seville.* § XXIII. *Seven Indian chiefs arrive in England. Revolution at Constantinople.* § XXIV. *England infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries.* § XXV. *Bill against pensioners sitting as members in the House of Commons.* § XXVI. *Treaty of Vienna.* § XXVII. *Death of the Duke of Parma.* § XXVIII. *Don Carlos takes possession of his territories.* § XXIX. *France distracted by religious disputes.* § XXX. *The ministry violently opposed in Parliament.* § XXXI. *Debate on a standing army.* § XXXII. *Account of the Charitable Corporation.* § XXXIII. *Revival*

Revival of the salt tax. § XXXIV. *Mr. Pulteney's name struck out of the list of Privy-counsellors.* § XXXV. *The King sets out for Hanover.*

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§ I. AT the accession of George II. the nation had great reason to wish for an alteration of measures. The publick debt, notwithstanding the boasted œconomy and management of the ministers; notwithstanding the sinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treasure sacred to the discharge of national incumbrances, was now increased to fifty millions two hundred sixty-one thousand two hundred and six pounds, nineteen shillings, eight pence three farthings. The kingdom was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it stood engaged in pecuniary subsidies to many powers upon the continent, with whom its real interest could never be connected. The wealth of the nation had been lavished upon those foreign connections, upon unnecessary wars, and fruitless expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the constitution, by the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments: by frequent suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act upon frivolous occasions: by repealing clauses in the act of settlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a standing army; and, above all, by establishing a system of corruption, which at all times would secure a majority in Parliament. The nature of prerogative, by which the liberties of the nation had formerly been often endangered, was now so well understood, and so securely restrained, that it could no longer be used for the same oppressive purposes: besides an avowed extension of the prerogative required more ability, courage, and resolution, than the present ministry could exert. They understood their own strength, and had recourse to a more safe and effectual expedient. The vice, luxury, and prostitution of the age, the almost total extinction of sentiment, honour,

nour, and publick spirit, had prepared the minds of men for slavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the ministry; the publick treasure was at their devotion: they multiplied places and pensions, to increase the number of their dependents: they squandered away the money of the nation without taste, discernment, decency, or remorse: they inlisted an army of the most abandoned emissaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worst measures, in the face of truth, common sense, and common honesty; and they did not fail to stigmatise as Jacobites, and enemies to the government, all those who presumed to question the merit of their administration. CHAP. IV. 1727.

§ II. The supreme direction of affairs was not yet engrossed by a single minister. Lord Townshend had the reputation of conducting the external transactions relating to treaties and negociations. He is said to have understood that province, though he did not always follow the dictates of his own understanding. He possessed an extensive fund of knowledge; and was well acquainted with the functions of his office. The Duke of N. his colleague, was not remarkable for any of these qualifications: he owed his promotion to his uncommon zeal for the illustrious House of Hanover, and to the strength of his interest in Parliament, rather than to his judgment, precision, or any other intellectual merit. Lord C. who may be counted an auxiliary, though not immediately concerned in the administration, had distinguished himself in the character of envoy at several Courts in Europe. He had attained an intimate knowledge of all the different interests and connections subsisting among the powers of the continent: and he infinitely surpassed all the ministers in learning and capacity. He was, indeed, the only man of genius employed under this government. He spoke with ease and propriety; his conceptions were just and lively; his inferences bold, his counsels

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sels vigorous and warm. Yet he depreciated his talents, by acting in a subordinate character to those whom he despised; and seemed to look upon the pernicious measures of a bad ministry with silent contempt rather than with avowed detestation. The interior government of Great-Britain was chiefly managed by Sir Robert W. a man of extraordinary talents, who had from low beginnings raised himself to the head of the Treasury. Having obtained a seat in the Lower House, he declared himself one of the most forward partisans of the Whig faction. He was endued with a species of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor eloquent, flowed with great facility, and was so plausible on all subjects, that even when he misrepresented the truth, whether from ignorance or design, he seldom failed to persuade that part of his audience for whose hearing his harangue was chiefly intended. He was well acquainted with the nature of the publick funds, and understood the whole mystery of stock-jobbing. This knowledge produced a connection between him and the money-corporations, which served to enhance his importance. He perceived the bulk of mankind were actuated by a sordid thirst of lucre; he had sagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage; and on this, and this alone, he founded the whole superstructure of his subsequent administration. In the late reign he had, by dint of speaking decisively to every question, by boldly impeaching the conduct of the Tory ministers, by his activity in elections, and engaging as a projector in the schemes of the monied interest, become a leading member in the House of Commons. By his sufferings under the Tory Parliament, he attained the rank of martyr to his party: his interest, his reputation, and his presumption daily increased: he opposed Sunderland as his rival in power, and headed a dangerous defection from the ministry, which evinced the greatness of his influence

fluence and authority. He had the glory of being principally concerned in effecting a reconciliation between the late King and the Prince of Wales: then he was re-associated in the administration with additional credit; and, from the death of the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, he had been making long strides towards the office of prime minister. He knew the maxims he had adopted would subject him to the hatred, the ridicule, and reproach of some individuals, who had not yet resigned all sentiments of patriotism, nor all views of opposition; but the number of these was inconsiderable, when compared to that which constituted the body of the community; and he would not suffer the consideration of such antagonists to come in competition with his schemes of power, affluence, and authority. Nevertheless, low as he had humbled anti-ministerial association, it required all his artifice to elude, all his patience and natural phlegm to bear, the powerful arguments that were urged, and the keen satire that was exercised against his measures and management, by a few members in the opposition. Sir William Wyndham possessed all the energy of elocution: Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, shrewd, and sarcastick: Mr. W. P. inherited from nature a good understanding, which he had studiously cultivated. He was one of the most learned members in the House of Commons, extremely well qualified to judge of literary productions: well read in history and politicks; deeply skilled in the British constitution, the detail of government, and the nature of the finances. He spoke with freedom, fluency, and uncommon warmth of declamation, which was said to be the effect of personal animosity to Sir R. W. with whom he had been formerly connected.

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§ III. An express arriving on the fourteenth day of June, with an account of the King's death, his late Majesty King George II. repaired from Rich-

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mond, where he received this intelligence, to Leicester-House; and the members of the privy-council being assembled, were sworn a-new. The King declared his firm purpose to preserve the constitution in Church and State, and to cultivate those alliances which his father had made with foreign Princes. At the same time, he took and subscribed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, as required by the Act of Union. Next day he was proclaimed King of Great-Britain. The Parliament assembled in pursuance of the act made for that purpose; but was immediately prorogued by commission to the twenty-seventh day of the month. All the great officers of state continued in their places: Sir Robert Walpole kept possession of the Treasury; and the system of politicks which the late King had established, underwent no sort of alteration. The King, in his speech to both Houses at the opening of the session, professed a fixed resolution to merit the love and affection of his people, by maintaining them in the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. He promised to lessen the publick expense as soon as the circumstances of affairs would permit: he observed to the Commons, that the grant of the greatest part of the civil-list revenues was now determined; and that it would be necessary for them to make a new provision for the support of him and his family: lastly, he recommended it to both Houses to dispatch the business that should be necessarily brought before them, as the season of the year and the circumstances of time required their presence in the country. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being drawn up and presented, the Commons, in a committee of the whole House, took into consideration a motion for a supply to his Majesty. Sir Robert Walpole having observed, that the annual sum of seven hundred thousand pounds granted to, and settled on the late King, had fallen short every year; and that his present

present Majesty's expences were likely to increase, by reason of the largeness of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil-list, which produced about eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, should be settled on the King during his life. Mr. Shippen opposed this motion, as inconsistent with the trust reposed in them as representatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exercising the right of giving away the publick money. He said the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds was not obtained for his late Majesty without a long and solemn debate; and every member who contended for it at that time, allowed it to be an ample Royal revenue: that, although his Majesty's family should be enlarged, a circumstance which had been urged as one reason for the motion, he presumed the appointments of Prince Frederick would be much inferior to those settled on his present Majesty when he was Prince of Wales: besides, it was to be hoped that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journeys to Hanover, would be discontinued, and entirely cease. He observed, that the civil-list branches in the Queen's reign did not often exceed the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand pounds: nevertheless, she called upon her Parliament but once, in a reign of thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity. She gave the first fruits and tenths, arising to nineteen thousand pounds a-year, as an augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She bestowed five thousand pounds per annum, out of the Post-Office, on the Duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds to be charged weekly on the same office, for the service of the publick: she expended several hundred thousand pounds in building the castle of Blenheim: she allowed four thousand pounds annually to Prince Charles of Denmark:

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mark: she sustained great losses by the tin contract: she supported the poor Palatines: she exhibited many other proofs of Royal bounty: and immediately before her death she had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty one-pounds. He affirmed, that a million a-year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often and so justly complained of in the House of Commons: that over and above the yearly allowance of seven hundred thousand pounds, many occasional taxes, many excessive sums were raised, and all sunk in the bottomless gulf of secret service. Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods, to secure the kingdom from a Swedish invasion: then the two Insurance-Offices were erected, and paid near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters: our enmity with Sweden being changed into alliance, a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds was implicitly granted, to fulfil some secret engagement with that Crown; four-and-twenty thousand pounds were given for burning merchant ships arrived from infected places, though the goods, which ought to have been destroyed for the publick safety, were afterwards privately sold: a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded, and granted, for paying the debts of the civil-list; and his Majesty declared, by message, he was resolved to retrench his expences for the future. Notwithstanding this resolution, in less than four years, a new demand of the like sum was made and granted, to discharge new incumbrances: the Spanish ships of war which Admiral Byng took in the Mediterranean, were sold for a considerable sum of money: one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds were granted in the last session, to be secretly disposed of for the publick utility; and there was still a debt in the civil government,

vernment, amounting to above six hundred thousand pounds. He took notice, that this amazing extravagance happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the publick revenue: that as none of these sums had been accounted for, they were, in all probability, employed in services not fit to be owned. He said, he heartily wished that time, the greater discoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities, might produce a list of all such as had been perverted from their publick duty by private pensions: who had been the hired slaves and the corrupt instruments of a profuse and vain-glorious administration. He proposed, that instead of granting an addition to the civil list, they should restrict that revenue to a certain sum, by concluding the question with these words, "in like manner as they "were granted and continued to his late Majesty, "so as to make up the clear yearly sum of seven "hundred thousand pounds." To these particulars, which were indeed unanswerable, no reply was made. Even this mark of decency was laid aside as idle and superfluous. The House agreed to the motion; and a bill was brought in for the better support of his Majesty's household. The Commons having received a message from the King, desiring they would make a further provision for the Queen his consort, resolved, That in case she should survive his Majesty, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil-list, together with his Majesty's palace of Somerset-house, and Richmond Old-park. A bill was formed on this resolution, which, as well as the other, passed both Houses; and received the Royal assent on the seventeenth day of July, when the King, in a speech to both Houses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which they had acquired such weight in holding the

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balance

BOOK II. balance of Europe. Then the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the twenty-ninth day of August: but on the seventh of that month a proclamation was issued for dissolving this, and convoking another.

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§ IV. In the interim some changes were made in different departments of civil economy. Lord Viscount Torrington was placed at the head of the Admiralty: the Earl of Westmoreland was appointed first Lord-commissioner of trade and plantations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, a nobleman remarkable for his wit, eloquence, and polished manners, was nominated Ambassador to the Hague. The privy-council being dissolved, another was appointed of the members then present. The Duke of Devonshire was dignified with the place of president; and the Duke of St. Alban's was appointed Master of the horse. On the eleventh day of October the coronation of the King and Queen was performed at Westminster-Abbey, with the usual solemnity*. By this time the Courts of France and Spain were perfectedly reconciled: all Europe was freed from the calamities of war; and the peace of Great-Britain suffered no interruption, except from some transient tumults among the tinners of Cornwall, who being provoked by a scarcity of scorn, rose in arms and plundered the granaries of that county.

§ V. The elections in England and Scotland for the Parliament having succeeded on the new system according to the wishes of the ministry, the two

* King George II. ascended the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age. On the second day of September, 1705, he espoused the Princess Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline, daughter to John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburgh Anspach, by whom he had two sons, Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, born at Hanover, on the thirty-first day of January, 1707, and William Augustus, born at London, on the fifteenth day of April, 1721. She had likewise borne four Princesses, namely, Anne, Amelia, Carolina, Mary, and was afterwards delivered of Louisa, married in the sequel to the King of Denmark.

Houses

Houses met on the twenty-third day of January, when the Commons unanimously chose for their Speaker Arthur Onslow, Esquire, Knight of the Shire for Surrey, a gentleman of extensive knowledge, worth, and probity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the discharge of that honourable and important office. The King, in his speech to this new Parliament, declared, that by the last advices from abroad, he had reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be entirely removed: in the mean time, he represented the absolute necessity of continuing the preparation which had hitherto secured the nation, and prevented an open rupture in Europe. He promised, that his first care should be to reduce, *from time to time*, the expence of the publick, as often, and as soon as the interest and safety of his people would permit such reduction. He expressed an earnest desire of seeing the foundation laid of an effectual scheme for the increase and encouragement of seamen in general, that they might be invited rather than compelled into the service of their country. Finally, he recommended unanimity, zeal, and dispatch of the publick business. Those speeches, penned by the minister, were composed with a view to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with the measures of the government; but without any intention of performing those promises of economy, reformation, and national advantage. The two Houses seemed to vie with each other in expressions of applause and affection to his Majesty. The Lords, in their address, hailed him as the best of Kings, and true Father of his country. The Commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessings they enjoyed in his reign, though it was not yet eight months old. They approved of all his transactions; promised to support him in all his undertakings;

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dertakings; and declared they would cheerfully grant whatever supplies should be wanted for the publick service. Having considered the estimates which were laid before them by order of his Majesty, they voted two-and-twenty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five men for guards and garrisons; and fifteen thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. They granted two hundred and thirty thousand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thousand Hessian troops; a subsidy of fifty thousand pounds to the King of Sweden; and half that sum to the Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel*. The expence of the year amounted to four millions, raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, a malt-tax, and by borrowing of the Bank one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, for which annuities to the amount of seventy thousand pounds, to be raised by duties on coals imported in the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

§ VI. All these sums, however, were not granted without question. The number of land forces occasioned a debate; and the Hessian auxiliaries were not allowed without dispute and opposition. When they deliberated on the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney observed, that the shifting of Funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day: that notwithstanding the great merit which some persons had built on the sinking fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increased since the setting up that pompous project. Some warm altercation passed between him and Sir Robert Walpole on this subject. The Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, presented

*Nothing could be a greater burlesque upon negociation than this treaty of alliance concluded with the petty Duke of Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannick Majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to supply his Majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five-and-twenty thousand pounds for four years.

a petition,

a petition, setting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm, imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burthen was a great discouragement to their manufactures, and a hardship upon all the trading inhabitants. The petition was rejected, and the tax imposed. The House having addressed the King for a particular and distinct account of the distribution of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, charged to have been issued for securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and preserving and restoring the peace of Europe, he declined granting their request, but signified in general, that part of the money had been issued and disbursed by his late Majesty, and the remainder by himself, for carrying on the same necessary services, which required the greatest secresy. Such a message in the reign of King William would have raised a dangerous flame in the House of Commons. Mr. W. Pulteney inveighed against such a vague and general way of accounting for the publick money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether insignificant, to cover embezzlements, and to screen corrupt and rapacious ministers. The Commons having taken into consideration the state of the national debt, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers. A motion was made by a court member, that it appeared the monies already issued and applied towards discharging the national debts, together with a sum to be issued at Lady-day, amounted to six millions six hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-two pounds, five shillings, one penny, one farthing. In vain did the leaders of the opposition expose the fallacious tendency of this motion. In vain did they demonstrate the fraudulent artifice used in drawing up the accounts: the motion was carried; and several resolutions were taken on the state of the national debts. In the particular account of these debts, upon which the House

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House resolved to form a representation to his Majesty, an article of three hundred thousand pounds relating to the duty upon wrought plate was totally omitted. This extraordinary omission being discovered, gave rise to a very warm debate, and to very severe reflections against those who superintended the publick accounts. This error being rectified, a committee appointed for the purpose drew up the representations, containing a particular detail of the national debts discharged and incurred since the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, with a state of the sinking fund and of the publick credit. The draft, being approved by the House, was presented to the King, who received it graciously. He took this opportunity of saying, that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: a circumstance that afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

§ VII. This answer, fraught with many other expressions of fatherly tenderness for his people, paved the way for a message to the House, demanding a vote of credit to fulfil certain engagements entered into, and concerted, with the advice and concurrence of the last Parliament, for securing the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and for restoring and preserving the peace of Europe. Though a debate ensued upon this message, the majority resolved that an address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring the duty and fidelity of the Commons, their entire confidence in his royal care and goodness, and their readiness to enable his Majesty to fulfil his engagements. A vote of credit passed accordingly. During this session, the Peers were chiefly employed in examining copies of several treaties and alliances which the King submitted to

their perusal; they likewise prepared a bill for amending the statute of limitation, which, however, did not pass into a law; they considered the state of the national debt, a subject fruitful of debates; they passed the mutiny bill, and those that were sent up from the Commons, touching the supplies; together with an act, obliging ships arriving from infected places to perform quarantine; and some others of a more private nature. These bills having received the Royal assent, the King closed the session on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the Commons for the effectual supplies they had raised, and in particular, for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of wages due to the seamen employed in the navy.

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§. VIII. England was at this period quite barren of remarkable events. The King's uncle, Ernest Augustus, Prince of Brunswick, Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabruck, died on the third day of August, and was succeeded in the bishoprick by the Elector of Cologn, according to the pactum by which Osnabruck is alternately possessed by the House of Brunswick and that Elector. In the beginning of December, his Majesty's eldest son Prince Frederick arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto resided, was introduced into the privy council, and created Prince of Wales. Signior Como, resident from the Duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, because his master paid to the Pretender the honours due to the King of Great-Britain. The congress opened at Soissons, for determining all disputes among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such difficulties occurred in settling and reconciling so many different pretensions and interests, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, concerning which no definitive answer was given as yet by the Courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate

of

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of Europe, therefore, continued in suspense: the English fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West-Indies: the sailors perishing miserably, without daring to avenge their country's wrongs; while the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Great-Britain. The Court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England. It had renewed a good understanding with France, and now strengthened its interest by a double alliance of marriage with the Royal family of Portugal. The Infanta of this House was betrothed to the Prince of Asturias; while the Spanish Infanta, formerly affianced to the French King, was now matched with the Prince of Brazil, eldest son of his Portuguese Majesty. In the month of January, the two courts met in a wooden house built over the little river Coya, that separates the two kingdoms, and there the Princesses were exchanged.

§ IX. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting according to their last prorogation on the twenty-first day of January, the King in his speech communicated the nature of the negociation at the congress. He demanded such supplies as might enable him to act vigorously in concert with his allies, provided his endeavours to establish an advantageous peace should miscarry; and he hinted that the dilatory conduct of the courts of Vienna and Madrid proceeded in a great measure from the hopes that were given of creating discontents and divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain. This suggestion was a ministerial artifice to inflame the zeal and resentment of the nation, and intimidate the members in the opposition. Accordingly the hint was pursued, and in the address from both Houses, that could not fail of being agreeable, considering the manner in which they were dictated, particular notice was taken of this article: both Peers and Commons expressed their detestation and abhorrence of those, who,

who, by such base and unnatural artifices, suggested the means of distressing their country, and clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themselves had occasioned. In these addresses, likewise, the Parliament congratulated his Majesty on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in his British dominions; and the Commons sent a particular compliment to his Royal Highness on that occasion. The estimates having been examined in the usual form, the House voted fifteen thousand seamen for the ensuing year; but the motion for continuing the same number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, was not carried without dispute. All the arguments against a standing army in time of peace, as inconsistent with the British constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, were repeated with great vivacity by Mr. Shippen and Mr. W. Pulteney. These, however, were answered, and represented as absurd, by Mr. Horatio Walpole and Mr. D. two staunch adherents of the minister. The first had, in despite of nature, been employed in different negociations: he was blunt, aukward, and slovenly: an orator without eloquence, an ambassador without dignity, and a plenipotentiary without address. The other had natural parts and acquired knowledge; spoke with confidence; and in dispute was vain, sarcastick, petulant, and verbose.

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§ X. The subsidies to Sweden, Hesse-Cassel, and Wolfenbuttel were continued, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney: which last observed, that as the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, usually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reasonable that Great-Britain should defray no more than the expence of the additional forces which those powers had raised, in consequence of their conventions with the King of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving

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ceiving that this remark made an impression on the House, thought it necessary to vindicate his measure. He expatiated upon the wisdom of the late King, in concluding the Hanover alliance. He affirmed, that the convention with Hesse-Cassel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the Court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the Emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spanish subsidies, but also retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Hessians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that, therefore, they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved so beneficial to the tranquillity of Europe. Sir Joseph Jekyll replied, that whatever gloss might be put upon such measures, they were repugnant to the maxims by which England in former times had steered and squared its conduct with relation to its interest abroad: that the navy was the natural strength of Great-Britain—its best defence and security: but if, in order to avoid a war, they should be so free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign Princes, they were never like to see an end of such extravagant expences. This gentleman, who exercised the office of Master of the Rolls, had approved himself a zealous defender of Whig principles, was an able lawyer, a sensible speaker, and a conscientious patriot. The supplies were raised by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional imposition on unmalted corn used in distilling, and by sale of annuities to the Bank not exceeding fifty thousand pounds per annum.

§ XI. Petitions were delivered to the House of Commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, complaining of the interruptions they had suffered in their trade for several years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the West-Indies.

Indies. These being considered, the House ordered the Lords of the Admiralty to produce the other memorials of the same kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congress at Soissons: then they addressed his Majesty for copies of all the letters and instructions which had been sent to Admiral Hosier, and those who succeeded him in the command of the West-India squadron. Mr. Oglethorpe having been informed of shocking cruelties and oppressions exercised by gaolers upon their prisoners, moved for an examination into these practices, and was chosen chairman of a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet-prison, which they visited in a body: there they found Sir William Rich, Baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given some slight cause of offence. They made a discovery of many inhuman barbarities, which had been committed by that ruffian, and detected the most iniquitous scenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion. When the report was made by the committee, the House unanimously resolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted several debtors to escape; had been guilty of the most notorious breaches of trust, great extortions, and the highest crimes and misdemeanours in the execution of his office; that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed prisoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the most barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation and contempt of the laws of the kingdom. John Huggins, Esquire, who had been warden of the Fleet prison, was subjected to a resolution of the same nature. The House presented an address to the King, desiring he would direct his attorney-general forthwith to prosecute these persons and their accomplices, who were committed prisoners to Newgate. A bill was brought in, disabling

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Bambridge

BOOK II. 1728. Bambridge to execute the office of warden: another for the better regulating the prison of the Fleet; and for the more effectually preventing and punishing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the said prison*.

§ XII. Other merchants complained by petition of the losses sustained by the Spaniards. The House, in a grand committee, deliberated on this subject, inquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours for preventing such depredations; for procuring just and reasonable satisfaction; and for securing to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The King assured them he would use his best endeavours to answer the desires and expectations of his people, in an affair of so much importance; and they, in another address, thanked him for his gracious answer. They did not, however, receive such a satisfactory reply to a former address, touching the sum of sixty thousand pounds that had been stated in the publick account, without specification of the particular uses to which it was applied. His Majesty gave them to understand that the money had been issued and disbursed for secret services; and that a distinct and particular account of the distribution of it could not be given without a manifest prejudice to the publick. A bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in elections for members of Parliament; and it passed through the House without opposition: but their attention was chiefly employed upon the Spanish depredations, which had raised a great clamour through the whole kingdom, and excited very warm disputes in Parliament; for they were generally reputed the

* It afterwards appeared that some of the members of this Inquest were actuated by other motives than those they professed; and the committee was suffered to sink into oblivion.

fruits

fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the ministers. The Commons having made further progress in the inquiry, and received fresh petitions from the merchants, passed some resolutions, in which the Spaniards were accused of having violated the treaties subsisting between the two Crowns; and with having treated inhumanly the masters and crews of ships belonging to Great-Britain. They justified the instructions given to Admiral Hosier, to seize and detain the flota and galleons of Spain, until justice and satisfaction should be rendered to his Majesty and his Allies; nay, even declared that such seizure would have been just, prudent, and necessary; tending to prevent an open rupture, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. They again addressed the King to use his endeavours to procure satisfaction; and he promised to comply with their request.

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§ XIII. Mr. Scroope, member for Bristol, moved for an address intreating his Majesty to order an account of the produce of the civil-list revenues for one year to be laid before the House. The address was presented, the account produced, and the House in a grand committee, took this affair into consideration. The Courtiers affirmed that they fell short of the eight hundred thousand pounds settled upon his Majesty: and Mr. Scroope proposed that the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted to the King, on account of those deficiencies and arrears. The motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pulteney and other members. They expressed their surprize that it should be made so late in the session, when no further demand of money could be reasonably expected; and they said it was the more extraordinary, because it appeared in the former session, from the examination of the accounts then before the House, that the revenues of the civil-list produced yearly a much greater sum than that for which they were given. Mr. Pulteney moved

BOOK H. 1728. moved that the accounts and papers should be referred to the examination of a select committee, properly empowered to investigate the truth. The ministers opposed this motion; and the question being put, it passed in the negative. The majority voted the sum demanded; and in a bill for settling the price of imported corn, they inserted the resolution for granting to his Majesty the sum of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, on account of arrears due on the civil-list revenues.

§ XIV. The House of Lords having prepared a bill for the more effectual punishment of forgery, which was passed into a law, and ordered the Judges to bring in another on the report of a committee appointed to consider the case of imprisoned debtors, at length deliberated upon the state of the nation, particularly the positive demands made by the Court of Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, grounded in a letter written by the late King to his Catholick Majesty. From a copy of the letter laid before the House, it plainly appeared that King George I. had consented to this restitution. A motion being made for a resolution, importing, that for the honour of his Majesty, and the preservation and security of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care should be taken in the present treaty that the King of Spain should renounce all claim and pretension to Gibraltar and Minorca, in plain and strong terms: a debate ensued, and the question being put, passed in the negative, though not without a protest. Then the majority resolved, that the House did entirely rely upon his Majesty, that he would, for maintaining the honour and securing the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the present treaty to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca. When the House examined the papers relating to the Spanish depredations, many severe reflections were uttered against the conduct of the ministry; and the motion was made, to resolve that Hosier's expedition

pedition was an unreasonable burthen on the nation: but this too was rejected, and occasioned another protest. Nor did the clause in the corn bill, for granting one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to his Majesty, pass through the House of Peers without warm opposition. Divers Lords alleged, that, instead of a deficiency in the civil-list revenues, there was a considerable surplus; that this was a new grant, and a new burthen on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the sum designed for the civil-list; and this at a time when the publick debts were encreased; when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country; when the foreign trade of Britain was incumbered and diminished: when her manufactures were decayed, her poor multiplied, and she was surrounded by many other national calamities. They observed, that if the produce of the civil-list revenue should not amount to the yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, the deficiency must be made good to his Majesty by the publick; whereas no provision was made, by which, if the produce of these revenues should exceed that sum, the surplus could accrue to the benefit of the publick; that, by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but also supplies were to be given for arrears standing out at the end of the year, which should come on before the supplies could be granted, though the supply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increase the surplusages in another: that the revenues of the civil-list were variable in their own nature: and even when there is a deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: these might be easily increased by the management of designing ministers, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of stating accounts. All these arguments, and other objections equally strong and plausible, against this unconscionable and unparliamentary motion, served

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only to evince the triumph of the ministry over shame and sentiment, their contempt of publick spirit, and their defiance of the national reproach*.

§ XV. The King had, on the twenty-fourth day of March, given the Royal assent to five bills; and on the fourteenth day of May, the same sanction was given to thirty other bills, including an act, enabling the Queen to be Regent in the kingdom during his Majesty's absence, without taking the oaths: and another for the relief of insolvent debtors. At the same time two-and-thirty private bills were passed: then the King expressed his approbation of the Parliament, signified his intention to visit his German dominions, and ordered the Chancellor to prorogue both Houses. His Majesty having appointed the Queen regent of the realm, set out for Hanover, on the seventeenth day of May, in order to remove a petty misunderstanding which had happened between that Electorate and the Court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian subjects had been pressed or decoyed into the service of Prussia: and the regents of Hanover had seized certain Prussian officers, by way of reprisal. The whole united kingdom of Great-Britain at this juncture enjoyed uninterrupted repose; and commerce continued to encrease, in spite of all restriction and discouragement. The people of Ireland found themselves happy under the government of Lord Carteret; and their Parliament, assembling in the month of September, approved themselves the fathers of their country. They established funds for the charge of their national debt, and for maintaining the expence of government: they enacted wholesome laws for the encouragement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture; and they formed wise regulations in different branches

* The Peers that distinguished themselves in the opposition were Beaufort, Stafford, Craven, Foley, Litchfield, Scarsdale, Gower, Mountjoy, Plymouth, Bathurst, Northampton, Coventry, Oxford, and Mortimer, Willoughby de Broke, Boyle, and Warrington.

of

of civil economy. Some time after this session, which was conducted with so much harmony and patriotism, Lord Carteret returned to England; and was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset in the government of that kingdom. In the month of May, Charles Lord Townshend resigned the seals, which were given to Colonel Stanhope, now created Earl of Harrington; so that Sir R. W. now reigned without a rival. James Earl of Waldegrave was appointed Ambassador to the Court of France, which, about that time, was filled with joy by the birth of a Dauphin. CHAP. IV. 1729.

§ XVI. In the month of September, Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, Prince of Piedmont. The father reserved to himself a revenue of one hundred thousand pistoles per annum, retired to the castle of Chamberry, and espoused the Countess Dowager of St. Sebastian, who declined the title of Queen, but assumed that of Marchioness of Somerive. Though the congress at Soissons proved abortive, conferences were begun at Seville, between the Plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, not only without the concurrence of the Emperor, but even contrary to his right, as established by the quadruple alliance. On this subject he communicated an Imperial commissorial decree to the States of the Empire assembled in the diet at Ratisbon, which was answered by the French minister de Chavigny. In October, Peter II. Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moscow, and was succeeded on the Russian throne by the Princess Anne Ivanowna, second daughter of John Alexowitz, elder brother of the first Peter, and widow of Frederick William Duke of Courland. The following month was rendered remarkable by the death of Pope Benedict XIII. in whose room Cardinal

BOOK II. Cardinal Laurence Corsini was raised to the pontificate, and assumed the name of Clement XII.

1729. § XVII. The British Parliament assembling on the thirteenth day of January, the King gave them to understand, that the peace of Europe was now established by the treaty of Seville, built upon the foundation of former treaties, and tending to render more effectual what the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance were before engaged to see performed. He assured them, that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of the British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed: that the free, uninterrupted exercise of their commerce was restored: that the Court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations: that all rights, privileges, and possessions, belonging to him and his allies, were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guarantied; and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of his subjects. He told them he had given orders for reducing a great number of his land-forces, and for laying up great part of the fleet: and observed that there would be a considerable saving in the expence of the current year. After both Houses had presented their addresses of thanks and congratulation to the King on the peace of Seville, the Lords took that treaty into consideration, and it did not pass inquiry without severe animadversion.

§ XVIII. The Lords in the opposition excepted to the article by which the merchants of Great-Britain were obliged to make proof of their losses at the Court of Spain. They said this stipulation was a hardship upon British subjects, and dishonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake such a troublesome and expensive journey, especially as they had reason to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and, after all, they would have no more than the slender

slender comfort of hoping to obtain that redress by Commissaries which they had not been able to procure by Plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary, that Great-Britain should be bound to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement should be made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma and Tuscany, concerning the garrisons once established in their countries; that the English should be obliged to assist in effectuating the introduction of six thousand Spanish troops into the towns of Tuscany and Parma without any specification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that assistance; that they should guarantee for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even all his successors, the possession of the estates of Tuscany and Parma; a stipulation which in all probability would involve Great-Britain in endless quarrels and disputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed that the treaty of Seville, instead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the article of introducing Spanish troops into Tuscany and Parma, in the room of neutral forces stipulated by the former alliance; and agreeing that they should there remain until Don Carlos and his successors should be secure and exempt from all events. They complained that these alterations, from the tenor of the quadruple alliance, were made without the concurrence of the Emperor, and even without inviting him to accede; an affront which might alienate his friendship from England, and hazard the loss of such an ancient, powerful, and faithful ally: they declared that throughout the whole treaty there seemed to be an artful omission of any express stipulation, to secure Great-Britain in her right to Gibraltar and Minorca. Such was the substance of the objections made to the peace: then Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, that the agreement on the treaty of Seville, to secure the succession

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succession of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, with Spanish troops, was a manifest violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expensive war, and to destroy the balance of power in Europe. The question was put, and the motion rejected. Such too was the fate of two other motions, to resolve that Great-Britain's right of sovereignty, dominion, possession, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, were not ascertained by the treaty of Seville: and that the stipulations in that treaty for repairing the losses of the British merchants were insufficient and precarious. The majority, far from stigmatising this transaction, resolved, that the treaty did contain all necessary stipulations for maintaining and securing the honour, dignity, rights, and possessions of the Crown: that all due care was taken therein for the support of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the losses sustained by the British merchants. On these resolutions an address of approbation was founded: but when a motion was made for an address to his Majesty, that he would order to be laid before the House a list of all pensions payable to the Crown, it was immediately resolved in the negative. Divers contests of the same kind arose upon the mutiny-bill, the pension-bill, and the maintenance of the twelve thousand Hessians; but the ministry bore down all opposition, though their triumphs were clogged with vigorous protests, which did not fail to make impression upon the body of the people.

§ XIX. Nor was the success of the Court interest in the House of Commons altogether pure, and free from exception and dispute. When the charge of the land forces fell under the consideration of the Commons, and Mr. Henry Pelham, secretary at war, moved that the number of effective men for the land-service of the ensuing year should be fixed at seventeen thousand seven hundred and nine, Mr. Pulteney

Pulteney insisted upon its being reduced to twelve thousand. Mr. Shippen affirmed, that Mr. Pelham's motion was a flat negative to the address for which he voted on the first day of the session, as it plainly implied a distrust of the validity of the late treaty, which he then assured the House would immediately produce all the blessings of an absolute peace, and deliver the kingdom from the apprehensions and inconveniencies of a war. He said the motion tended directly towards the establishment of an army in Great-Britain, which he hoped would never be so far Germanized, as tamely to submit to a military government. He observed that the nation could have no occasion for all the troops that were demanded, considering the glorious scene of affairs which was now opened to all Europe. "They are "not necessary (said he) to awe Spain into a firm "adherence to its own treaty; they are not neces- "sary to force the Emperor into an immediate "accession; nor are they in any sort necessary for "the safety of his Majesty's person and govern- "ment. Force and violence are the resort of "usurpers and tyrants only; because they are, with "good reason, distrustful of the people whom they "oppress; and because they have no other security "for the continuance of their unlawful and unna- "tural dominion, than what depends entirely on the "strength of their armies." The motion, however, was carried in the affirmative.

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§ XX. Another warm debate was excited by a bill which the Courtiers brought in, to prevent any subjects of Great-Britain from advancing sums of money to foreign Princes or States, without having obtained licence from his Majesty, under his privy seal, or some great authority. The minister pretended that this law was proposed to disable the Emperor, who wanted to borrow a great sum of the English merchants, from raising and maintaining troops to disturb the tranquillity of Europe. The

bill

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bill contained a clause, empowering the King to prohibit by proclamation all such loans of money, jewels, or bullion: the Attorney-general was empowered to compel, by English bill, in the court of Exchequer, the effectual discovery, on oath, of any such loans; and it was enacted, that in default of an answer to any such bill the court should decree a limited sum against the person refusing to answer. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman of uncommon talents and ability, and particularly acquainted with every branch of commerce, argued strenuously against this bill, as a restraint upon trade that would render Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent. He said that by this general prohibition, extending to all princes, states, or potentates, the English were totally disabled from assisting their best allies: that among others the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the English merchants residing within his dominions; that while the licensing power remained in the Crown, the licences would be issued through the hands of the minister, who by this new trade might gain twenty, thirty, or forty, thousand a-year: that the bill would render the Exchequer a court of inquisition: and that whilst it restrained our merchants from assisting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted our stock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Other arguments of equal weight were enforced by Mr. Barnard, a merchant of London who perfectly understood trade in all its branches, spoke with judgment and precision, and upon all occasions steadily adhered to the interest and liberties of his country. After having explained his reasons, he declared he should never consent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, a breach of our dearest liberties, and a very terrible hardship on mankind. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself on the same side of the question: the bill was vindicated

by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip York, Attorney-general; and being supported by the whole weight of ministerial influence, not only passed through the House, but was afterwards enacted into a law. CHAP. VI. 1729.

§ XXI. The subsidies were continued to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, in spite of all that could be urged against these extraneous incumbrances; and the supply for the ensuing year was granted according to the estimates which the ministry thought proper to produce, amounting to about two millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. It must be owned, however, for the credit of this session, that the House appropriated one million of the surplusses arising from the sinking fund towards the discharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguished the duties upon salt, by which expedient the subject was eased of a heavy burthen, not only in being freed from the duty, but also from a considerable charge of salaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this imposition. They likewise encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act, allowing the planters and traders of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; and they permitted salt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New-York. The term of the exclusive trade granted by act of Parliament to the East-India company drawing towards a period, many considerable merchants and others made application for being incorporated and vested with the privilege of trading to those countries, proposing to lay that branch of trade open to all the subjects of Great-Britain, on certain conditions. In consideration of an act of Parliament for this purpose, they offered to advance three millions two hundred thousand pounds, for redeeming the fund and trade of the present East-India company. This proposal was rejected

BOOK II. 1729. rejected: and the exclusive privilege vested in the company was, by act of Parliament, protracted to the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, upon the following conditions: That they should pay into the Exchequer the sum of two hundred thousand pounds towards the supplies of the year, without interest or addition to their capital stock; That the annuity or yearly fund of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, payable to them from the publick, should be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thousand: That after the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, their right to the exclusive trade should be liable to be taken away by Parliament, on three years' notice, and re-payment of their capital.

An. 1730. § XXII. On the fifteenth day of May the King went to the House of Peers, and closed the session. In his speech he expressed his joy, that notwithstanding all the clamours which were raised, the Parliament had approved of those matters which fell under their consideration; a circumstance which, he said, could not fail to inspire all mankind with a just detestation of those incendiaries, who, by scandalous libels, laboured to alienate the affections of his people; to fill their minds with groundless jealousies and unjust complaints, in dishonour of him and his government, and in defiance of the sense of both Houses of Parliament*. The Emperor was so much incensed at the insult offered him in the treaty of Seville, with respect to the garrisons of Tuscany and Parma, that he prohibited the subjects

* In the course of this session the Commons passed a bill for making more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of Parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any offices holden in trust for them, by obliging all persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the oath therein mentioned. In all probability this bill would not have made its way through the House of Commons, had not the minister been well assured it would stick with the Upper House, where it was rejected at the second reading, though not without violent opposition.

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of Great-Britain from trading in his dominions: he began to make preparations for war, and actually detached bodies of troops to Italy, with such dispatch as had been very seldom exerted by the House of Austria. Yet the article of which he complained was not so much a real injury as an affront put upon the head of the empire; for the eventual succession to those Italian duchies had been secured to the Infant, Don Carlos, by the quadruple alliance; and all that the Emperor required was, that this Prince should receive the investiture of them as fiefs of the Empire. CHAP. IV. 1730.

§ XXIII. In Great-Britain, this year was not distinguished by any transaction of great moment. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nations of Indians in America were brought to England by Sir Alexander Cumin. Being introduced to the King they laid their crown and regalia at his feet: and by an authentick deed acknowledged themselves subjects to his dominion, in the name of all their compatriots, who had vested them with full powers for this purpose. They were amazed and confounded at the riches and magnificence of the British Court: they compared the King and Queen to the sun and moon, the Princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to nothing. They gave their assent in the most solemn manner to articles of friendship and commerce, proposed by the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations: and being loaded with presents of necessaries, arms, and ammunition, were reconveyed to their own country, which borders on the province of South-Carolina. In the month of September a surprising revolution was effected at Constantinople, without bloodshed or confusion. A few mean Janissaries displayed a flag in the streets, exclaiming that all true Musselmen ought to follow them, and assist in reforming the government. They soon increased to the number of one hundred thousand, marched to the Seraglio, and demanded the

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the Grand Vizir, the Kiaja, and Captain Pacha. These unhappy ministers were immediately strangled. Their bodies being delivered to the insurgents, were dragged through the streets, and afterwards thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Not contented with this sacrifice, the revolters deposed the Grand Signior Achmet, who was confined to the same prison from whence they brought his nephew Machmut, and raised this last to the throne, after he had lived seven-and-twenty years in confinement.

§ XXIV. England was at this period infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries, the natural consequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom. This defect, in a great measure, arose from an absurd notion, that laws necessary to prevent those acts of cruelty, violence, and rapine, would be incompatible with the liberty of British subjects; a notion that confounds all distinctions between liberty and brutal licentiousness, as if that freedom was desirable, in the enjoyment of which people find no security for their lives or effects. The peculiar depravity of the times was visible even in the conduct of those who preyed upon the commonwealth. Thieves and robbers were now become more desperate and savage than ever they had appeared since mankind was civilized. In the exercise of their rapine, they wounded, maimed, and even murdered the unhappy sufferers, through a wantonness of barbarity. They circulated letters demanding sums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houses to ashes, and their families to ruin; and even set fire to the house of a rich merchant in Bristol, who had refused to comply with their demand. The same species of villainy was practised in different parts of the kingdom: so that the government was obliged to interpose, and offer a considerable reward for discovering the ruffians concerned in such execrable designs.

§ XXV.

§. XXV. In the speech with which the King opened the session of Parliament on the twenty-first day of January, he told them, that the present critical conjuncture seemed in a very particular manner to deserve their attention: that as the transactions then depending in the several courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be very much affected by their first resolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He said, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto supported him and his engagements must at this time be of the greatest weight and importance both with regard to his allies, and to those who might be disposed, before the season of action, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal consequences of a general rupture. The former scene was repeated. Both Houses, in their addresses, promised to support his Majesty, in all his engagements: yet the members in the opposition demonstrated the absurdity of promising to fulfil engagements, before they could possibly know whether or not they were for the service of Great-Britain. Another bill was brought into the House of Commons, to prevent pensioners from sitting as members of Parliament: and after a third reading, carried up to the Lords for their concurrence. When the supply fell under consideration, the debates were renewed upon the subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel, which however were continued; and every article was granted according to the estimates given in for the expence of the ensuing year. Two petitions being presented to the Commons, representing the delays of justice, occasioned by the use of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, a bill was brought in for changing this practice, and enacting, that all those processes and pleadings should be entered in the English language. Though one would imagine that very little could be advanced

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advanced against such a regulation, the bill met with warm opposition, on pretence that it would render useless the ancient records which were written in that language, and introduce confusion and delay of justice, by altering the established form and method of pleading: in spite of these objections it passed through both Houses, and obtained the Royal assent. A great number of merchants from different parts of the kingdom having repeated their complaints of depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the West-Indies, their petitions were referred to the consideration of a grand committee. Their complaints upon examination appeared to be well founded. The House presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his endeavour to prevent such depredations for the future; to procure full satisfaction for the damages already sustained; and to secure to the British subjects the full and uninterrupted exercise of their trade and navigation to and from the British colonies in America. The Bill against pensions produced a warm debate in the House of Lords, where it was violently opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle; the Earl of Ilay, and Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of Bangor. This prelate, in a remarkable speech, represented it as a scheme to enlarge the power of the House of Commons, and to break the balance between the powers essential to the constitution, so as, sooner or later, to prove the ruin of the whole. The great barrier providing against bribery and corruption by this bill consisted in an oath to be imposed on all members of the Lower House, by which they must have solemnly sworn and declared, that they had not directly, nor indirectly, any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office in part or in the whole, held for them, or for their benefit by any persons whatsoever; and that they would not accept any such pensions or offices, without signifying the

same to the House within fourteen days after they should be received or accepted. The bill was vindicated as just and necessary by the Earls of Winchelsea and Strafford, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Carteret, who had by this time joined as an auxiliary in the opposition*. CHAP. IV. 1730.

§ XXVI. The House of Peers proceeded to consider the state of the national debt: they read a bill for the free importation of wool from Ireland into England, which was fiercely opposed and laid aside, contrary to all the rules of sound policy. They passed the bill for carrying on proceedings at law in the English language; and a fruitless motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to desire his Majesty would give directions for discharging the Hessian troops that were in the pay of Great-Britain. On the seventh day of May the Parliament was prorogued, after the King had given them to understand, that all apprehensions of war were now happily removed, by a treaty signed at Vienna between him and the Emperor. He said it was communicated to the Courts of France and Spain, as parties to the treaty of Seville, the execution of which it principally regarded; and that it was likewise submitted to the consideration of the States-General. He observed, that the conditions and engagements into which he had entered on this occasion were An. 1731.

* Nothing was heard within doors in Parliament, but sarcastick repartee and violent declamation between the two parties, who did not confine their altercation to these debates, but took the field against each other in periodical papers, and occasional pamphlets. The paper called the Craftsman had already risen into high reputation all over England, for the wit, humour, and solid reasoning it contained. Some of the best writers in the opposition, including Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. P. made use of this vehicle to convey their animadversions upon the minister, who, on his side, employed the most wretched scribblers to defend his conduct. It was in consequence of two political pamphlets, written in opposition to each other, by Lord Hervey and Mr. P. and some recrimination they produced in the House of Commons, that his Lordship challenged the other to single combat, and had well nigh lost his life in the duel, which was fought in Hyde Park.

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agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe: and that this happy turn, duly improved with a just regard to former alliances, yielded a favourable prospect of seeing the publick tranquillity re-established.

§ XXVII. In the month of January the Duke of Parma died, after having made a will in which he declared his Duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the allied powers of Europe to have compassion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his consort should be delivered. In case the child should be still born, or die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial estates to the Infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy. Notwithstanding this disposition, a body of Imperial troops immediately took possession of Parma and Placentia, under the command of General Stampa, who declared they should conduct themselves with all possible regularity and moderation, and leave the administration entirely to the regents whom the Duke had appointed. They publickly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took possession of these duchies for the Infant Don Carlos: and that if the Duchess Dowager should not be delivered of a Prince, the said Infant might receive the investiture from the Emperor whenever he would, provided he should come without an army. Though these steps seemed to threaten an immediate war, the King of Great-Britain and the States-General interposed their mediation so effectually with the Court of Vienna, that the Emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design; and on the sixteenth day of March concluded at Vienna a treaty with his Britannick Majesty, by which he consented to withdraw his troops from Parma and Placentia. He agreed, That the King of Spain might take pos-

session of these places in favour of his son Don Carlos, according to the treaty of Seville. He likewise agreed, That the Ostend company, which had given such umbrage to the maritime powers, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers concerned in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the pragmatick sanction, or succession of the Austrain hereditary dominions to the heirs female of the Emperor, in case he should die without male issue. The Dutch minister residing at the Imperial Court did not subscribe this treaty, because, by the maxims received in that republick, and the nature of her government, he could not be vested with full powers so soon as it would have been necessary: nevertheless the States-General were, by a separate article, expressly named as a principal contracting party. CHAP. IV. 1731.

§ XXVIII. On the twenty-second day of July a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the Emperor and the Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. In August a treaty of union and defensive alliance between the electorates of Saxony and Hanover was executed at Dresden. The Court of Spain expressing some doubts with regard to the pregnancy of the Duchess of Parma, she underwent a formal examination by five midwives of different nations in presence of the elder Duchess Dowager, several ladies of quality, three physicians and a surgeon; and was declared with child: nevertheless, after having kept all Europe in suspense for six months, she owned she had been deceived; and General Stampa, with the Imperial forces, took formal possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia. Spain and the Great Duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, the Crown of Great-Britain engaged to equip an armament that should convoy Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager sailed with a strong squadron from Ports-

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mouth on the twenty-sixth day of August; and in September arrived at Barcelona, where being joined by the Spanish fleet and transports, they sailed together to Leghorn: from whence the Admiral returned to England. Don Carlos passed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board of the Spanish gallies, arrived at Leghorn in December. Then the Imperial General withdrew his forces into the Milanese; and the Infant took possession of his new territories.

§ XXIX. During these transactions France was distracted by religious disputes, occasioned by the bull Unigenitus thundered against the doctrines of Jansenius; a bill which had produced a schism in the Gallican Church, and well nigh involved that country in civil war and confusion. It was opposed by the Parliaments and lay tribunals of the kingdom; but many bishops, and the Jesuits in general, were its most strenuous assertors. All the artifices of priest-craft were practised on both sides to inflame the enthusiasm, and manage the superstition of the poople. Pretended miracles were wrought at the tomb of Abbé Paris, who had died without accepting the bull, consequently was declared damned by the abettors of that constitution. On the other hand, the Jesuits exerted all their abilities and industry in preaching against the Jansenists: in establishing an opinion of their superior sanctity; and inspiring a spirit of quietism among their votaries, who were transported into the delirium of possession, illumination, and supernatural converse. These arts were often used for the most infamous purposes. Female enthusiasts were wrought up to such a violence of agitation, that nature fainted under the struggle, and the pseudo-saint seized this opportunity of violating the chastity of his penitent. Such was said to be the case of Mademoiselle la Cadiere, a young gentlewoman of Toulon, abused, in this manner by the lust and villainy of Pere Girard, a noted Jesuit,

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who underwent a trial before the Parliament of Aix, and very narrowly escaped the stake. CHAP. IV.

§ XXX. The Parliament of Great-Britain meeting on the thirteenth day of January, the King in his speech declared, that the general tranquillity of Europe was restored and established by the last treaty of Vienna: and Don Carlos was actually possessed of Parma and Placentia: that six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure, by the express consent and agreement of the Great Duke, the reversion of his dominions; and that a family convention was made between the courts of Spain and Tuscany, for preserving mutual peace and friendship in the two houses. He told the Commons, that the estimates for the service of the current year would be considerably less than those of former years. He recommended unanimity: he observed that his government had no security but what was equally conducive to their happiness, and to the protection of his people: that their prosperity had no foundation but in the defence and support of his government. "Our safety (said he) is mutual, and our interests "are inseparable." The opposition to the Court measures appears to have been uncommonly spirited during the course of this session. The minister's motions were attacked with all the artillery of elocution. His principal emissaries were obliged to task their faculties to their full exertion, to puzzle and perplex where they could not demonstrate and convince, to misrepresent what they could not vindicate, and to elude the arguments which they could not refute. In the House of Commons Lord Hervey, lately appointed Vice Chamberlain of his Majesty's household, made a motion for an address of thanks, in which they should declare their entire approbation of the King's conduct, acknowledge the blessings they enjoyed under his government, express their confidence in the wisdom of his councils; 1731.

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cils; and declare their readiness to grant the necessary supplies. This member, son to the Earl of Bristol, was a nobleman of some parts, which, however, were more specious than solid. He condescended to act as a subaltern to the minister, and approved himself extremely active in forwarding all his designs, whether as a secret emissary or publick orator; in which last capacity he appears to have been pert, frivolous, and frothy. His motion was seconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, and opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not argue against a general address of thanks; but exposed the absurdity and bad tendency of expressions which implied a blind approbation of all the measures of the ministry. Sir Wilfred Lawson observed, that notwithstanding the great things we had done for the crown of Spain, and the favours we had procured for the Royal family of that kingdom, little or no satisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had sustained from that nation. Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by becoming guarantee to the pragmatick sanction, laid itself under an obligation to assist the Austrian family when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the Grand Signior: that they might be attacked when it would be much against the interest of the kingdom to engage itself in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the interest of the nation to join against them, in order to preserve the balance of Europe, the establishing of which had already cost England such immense sums of money. He insisted upon the absurdity of concluding such a number of inconsistent treaties; and concluded with saying, that if affairs abroad were now happily established, the ministry which conducted them might be compared to a pilot, who, though there was a clear, safe, and straight channel into port, yet took it in his head to carry

carry the ship a great way about, through sands, rocks, and shallows; who, after having lost a great number of seamen, destroyed a great deal of tackle and rigging, and subjected the owners to an enormous expence, at last by chance hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct. Sir William Wyndham spoke to the same purpose. Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane, affirmed that many other things related more nearly to the honour and interest of the nation than did the guarantee of the pragmatick sanction. He said he wished to have heard that the new works at Dunkirk had been entirely raised and destroyed: that the nation had received full and complete satisfaction for the depredations committed by the natives of Spain: that more care was taken in disciplining the militia, on whose valour the nation must chiefly depend in case of an invasion; and that some regard had been shown to the oppressed Protestants in Germany. He expressed his satisfaction to find that the English were not so closely united to France as formerly; for he had generally observed, that when two dogs were in a leash together, the stronger generally ran away with the weaker: and this he was afraid had been the case between France and Great-Britain. The motion was vigorously defended by Mr. Pelham, paymaster of the forces, and brother to the Duke of Newcastle, a man whose greatest fault was his being concerned in supporting the measures of a corrupt ministry. In other respects he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and even attached to the interest of his country, though egregiously mistaken in his notions of government. On this occasion he asserted that it was no way inconsistent with the honour or dignity of that House to thank his Majesty in the most particular terms for every thing he had been pleased to communicate in his speech from the throne: that no expressions of approbation in the address could

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be any way made use of to prevent an inquiry into the measures which had been pursued, when the treaties should be laid before the House. He said, at the opening of a session the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great-Britain, and from the Parliament's first resolves all the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would ensue between his Majesty and the representatives of his people: that their appearing jealous or diffident of his Majesty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign states or potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any false stept that might have been made by his ministers. His arguments were reinforced by a long speech from Mr. H. Walpole. The question was put, the motion carried, and the address presented.

§ XXXI. The next subject of debate was the number of land-forces. When the supply fell under consideration, Sir W. Strickland, secretary at war, moved that the same number which had been maintained in the preceding year should be continued in pay. On the other hand, Lord Morpeth, having demonstrated the danger to which the liberties of the nation might be exposed, by maintaining a numerous standing army in time of peace, made a motion that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. A warm debate ensuing, was managed in favour of the first motion by Lord Hervey, Sir Robert Walpole, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip York, Attorney-general. This gentleman was counted a better lawyer than a politician, and shone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the House of Commons. The last partisan of the ministry was Sir William Yonge, one of the Lords Commissioners of the treasury; a man who rendered himself serviceable and necessary, by stooping to all compliances, running upon every scent, and haranguing on every subject with an even, uninterrupted, tedious flow of dull declamation,

declamation, composed of assertions without veracity, conclusions from false premises, words without meaning, and language without propriety. Lord Morpeth's motion was espoused by Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, a gentleman of an ancient family and opulent fortune in Wales, brave, open, hospitable, and warmly attached to the ancient constitution and hierarchy; he was supported by Mr. Walter Plumer, who spoke with weight, precision, and severity, by Sir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard. The Courtiers argued that it was necessary to maintain such a number of land-forces as might defeat the designs of malcontents, secure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external assaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous measures in case the peace of Europe should be reembroiled. They affirmed, the science of war was so much altered, and required so much attention, that no dependence was to be placed upon a militia: that all nations were obliged to maintain standing armies, for their security against the encroachments of neighbouring powers: that the number of troops in Great-Britain was too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the people, even under an ambitious Monarch: that his Majesty never entertained the least thought of infringing the liberties of his subjects; that it could not be supposed that the officers, among whom were many gentlemen of family and fortune, would ever concur in a design to enslave their country; and that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a standing army, inasmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year by the Parliament, which was the representative of the people. To these arguments the members in the opposition replied, that a standing force in time of peace was unconstitutional, and had been always thought dangerous; that a militia was as capable of discipline as a standing army, and would have more incentives

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BOOK II. 1731. to courage and perseverance: that the civil magistrate was able to preserve the peace of the country: that the number of the malcontents was altogether contemptible, though it might be considerably augmented by maintaining a standing army, and other such arbitrary measures: that other nations had been enslaved by standing armies; and howsoever they might find themselves necessitated to depend upon a military force for security against encroaching neighbours, the case was very different with regard to Great-Britain, for the defence of which nature had provided in a peculiar manner: that this provision was strengthened and improved by a numerous navy, which secured her dominion of the sea; and, if properly disposed, would render all invasion impracticable, or at least ineffectual; that the land-army of Great-Britain, though sufficient to endanger the liberties of an unarmed people, could not possibly secure such an extent of coast, and therefore could be of very little service in preventing an invasion: that though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help apprehending, that should a standing army become part of the constitution, another Prince of more dangerous talents, and more fatal designs, might arise, and employ it for the worst purposes of ambition: that though many officers were gentlemen of honour and probity, these might be easily discarded, and the army gradually moulded into a quite different temper. By these means, practised in former times, an army had been new modelled to such a degree, that they turned their swords against the Parliament, for whose defence they had been raised, and destroyed the constitution both in Church and State; that with respect to its being wholly dependent on the Parliament, the people of England would have reason to complain of the same hardship, whether a standing army should be declared at once indispensable, or regularly.

regularly voted from year to year, according to the direction of the ministry; that the sanction of the legislature, granted to measures which in themselves are unconstitutional, burthensome, odious, and repugnant to the genius of the nation, instead of yielding consolation, would serve only to demonstrate, that the most effectual method of forging the chains of national slavery, would be that of ministerial influence operating upon a venal Parliament. Such were the reasons urged against a standing army, of what number soever it might be composed: but the expediency of reducing the number from about eighteen thousand to twelve thousand, was insisted upon as the natural consequence of his Majesty's declaration, by which they were given to understand that the peace of Europe was established; and that he had nothing so much at heart as the ease and prosperity of his people. It was suggested, that if eighteen thousand men were sufficient on the supposed eve of a general war in Europe, it was surely reasonable to think that a less number would suffice when peace was perfectly re-established. Whatever effect these reasons had upon the body of the nation, they made no converts in the House, where the majority resolved that the standing army should be maintained without reduction. Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppressed by an arbitrary method of quartering soldiers, in an undue proportion, upon those publicans who refused to vote in elections according to the direction of the ministry. Mr. Pulteney asserted, that the money raised for the subsistence of eighteen thousand men in England, would maintain sixty thousand French or Germans, or the same number of almost any other people on the continent. Sir William Wyndham declared, that eighteen thousand of the English troops in the late war were maintained on less than two thirds of the sum now demanded for the like number:

BOOK II. number: but no regard was paid to these allegations.

1734. § XXXII. The next object of importance that attracted the notice of the House, was the state of the Charitable Corporation. This Company was first erected in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven. Their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and to persons of better rank upon an undubitable security of goods impawned. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but, by licenses from the crown, they increased it to six hundred thousand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of Parliament. In the month of October, George Robinson, esquire, member for Marlow, the cashier, and John Thompson, warehouse-keeper of the corporation, disappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held several general courts, and appointed a committee to inspect the state of their affairs. They reported, that for a capital of above five hundred thousand pounds no equivalent was found; inasmuch as their effects did not amount to the value of thirty thousand, the remainder having been embezzled by means which they could not discover. The proprietors, in a petition to the House of Commons, represented that by the most notorious breach of trust in several persons to whom the care and management of their affairs were committed, the corporation had been defrauded of the greatest part of their capital; and that many of the petitioners were reduced to the utmost degree of misery and distress: they, therefore, prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of those who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to justice, without the aid of the power and authority of Parliament, the House would vouchsafe to inquire into the state of the corporation, and the conduct of their managers; and give such relief to the petitioners as to the House

House should seem meet. The petition was graciously received, and a secret committee appointed to proceed on the inquiry. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinson and Thompson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy: some of the first characters in the nation did not escape suspicion and censure. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the House of Commons, as having had a considerable share in those fraudulent practices: a bill was brought in to restrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects. In the mean time, the committee received a letter from Signior John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, giving them to understand, that Thompson was secured in that city, with all his papers, and confined to the castle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were transmitted to his correspondent at Paris, who would deliver them up, on certain conditions stipulated in favour of the prisoner. This letter was considered as an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the Pretender, as if he had taken measures for securing Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection for the English people. On this supposition, the proposals were rejected with disdain; and both Houses concurred in an order that the letter should be burned at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman. The Lower House resolved, that it was an insolent and audacious libel, absurd and contradictory; that the whole transaction was a scandalous artifice, calculated to delude the unhappy, and to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his Majesty's person, crown, and dignity.

CHAP. IV. 1731.

§ XXXIII. No motion, during this session, produced such a warm contest as did that of Sir Robert Walpole,

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Walpole, when, after a long preamble, he proposed that the duties on salt, which about two years before had been abolished, should now be revived, and granted to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the term of three years. In order to sweeten this proposal, he declared that the land-tax for the ensuing year should be reduced to one shilling in the pound. All the members of the country party were immediately in commotion. They expressed their surprize at the grossness of the imposition. They observed that two years had scarce elapsed since the King, in a speech from the throne, had exhorted them to abolish some of the taxes that were the most burthensome to the poor: the House was then of opinion, that the tax upon salt was the most burthensome and the most pernicious to the trade of the kingdom, of all the impositions to which the poor were subjected, and therefore it was taken of: but that no good reason could be produced for altering their opinions so suddenly, and resolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to ease a few rich men of the landed interest. They affirmed, that the most general taxes are not always the least burthensome: that after a nation is obliged to extend their taxes farther than the luxuries of their country, those taxes that can be raised with the least charge to the publick are the most convenient and easiest to the people: but they ought carefully to avoid taxing those things which are necessary for the subsistence of the poor. The price of all necessaries being thus enhanced, the wages of the tradesman and manufacturer must be increased; and where these are high the manufacturers will be undersold by those of cheaper countries. The trade must of consequence be ruined; and it is not to be supposed that the landed gentleman would choose to save a shilling in the pound from the land-tax, by means of an expedient that would ruin the manufactures of his country, and decrease the value of his

his own fortune. They alleged that the salt-tax particularly affected the poor, who could not afford to eat fresh provisions; and that, as it formerly occasioned murmurs and discontents amongst the lower class of people, the revival of it would, in all probability, exasperate them into open sedition. They observed, that while it was exacted in England, a great number of merchants sent their ships to Ireland, to be victualled for their respective voyages; that, since it had been abolished, many experiments had been successfully tried with salt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this imposition. They suggested that the land-tax was raised at a very small expence, and subject to no fraud, whereas that upon salt would employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, wholly depending upon the ministry, whose influence in elections they would proportionably increase. They even hinted, that this consideration was one powerful motive for proposing the revival of an odious tax, which was in effect an excise, and would be deemed a step towards a general excise upon all sorts of provisions. Finally, they demonstrated that the salt-tax introduced numberless frauds and perjuries in different articles of traffick. Sir Robert Walpole endeavoured to obviate all these objections in a long speech, which was minutely answered and refuted in every article by Mr. Pulteney. Nevertheless, the question being put, the minister's motion was carried in the affirmative, and the duty revived: yet, before the bill passed, divers motions were made, and additional clauses proposed by the members in the opposition. New debates were raised on every new objection, and the Courtiers were obliged to dispute their ground by inches.

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§ XXXIV. The pension bill was revived, and for the third time rejected in the House of Lords. A bill for the encouragement of the sugar colonies passed

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passed through the Lower House with great difficulty, but was lost among the Peers: another, for the better securing the freedom of Parliaments, by further qualifying members to sit in the House of Commons, was read the third time, and thrown out upon the question. A committee had been appointed to inquire into a sale of the estate which had belonged to the late Earl of Derwentwater. It appeared by the report, that the sale had been fraudulent: a bill was prepared to make it void: Dennis Bond, esquire, and Serjeant Birch, Commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of notorious breach of trust, and expelled the House of which they were members: George Robinson, esquire, underwent the same sentence, on account of the part he acted in the Charitable Corporation, as he and Thompson had neglected to surrender themselves, according to the terms of a bill which had passed for that purpose. During this session, five members of Parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a sure sign of national degeneracy and dishonour. All the supplies were granted, and among other articles, the sum of two-and-twenty thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds, seven shillings and sixpence, for the agio or difference of the subsidies payable to the Crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late King and that monarch: but this was not obtained without a violent dispute. Mr. Pulteney, who bore a considerable share in all these debates, became in a little time so remarkable as to be thought worthy of a very particular mark of his Majesty's displeasure. The King, on the first day of July, called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney, esquire, out of the list of privy councillors: his Majesty further ordered him to be put out of all the commissions of the peace. The several Lord-lieutenants, from whom he had received deputations, were commanded

manded to revoke them; and the Lord-Chancellor and Secretaries of State were directed to give the necessary orders for that purpose. CHAP. IV. 1731.

§ XXXV. Nor did the House of Peers tamely and unanimously submit to the measures of the ministry. The pension-bill being read, was again rejected, and a protest entered. A debate arose about the number of standing forces: and the Earl of Chesterfield argued for the Court motion. The Earl of Oxford moved that they might be reduced to twelve thousand effective men. The Earl of Winchelsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people: schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The Marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the publick: he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men, demanded as a standing force, were modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand men on any emergency. The Duke of Argyle endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries. Then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and after all, acknowledged, that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered and refuted in an excellent speech by Lord Carteret: nevertheless, victory declared for the minister. The Parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum from the sinking-fund, and passed divers other acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the

BOOK II. King, on the first day of June, gave the Royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both Houses that the States-General had acceded to the treaty of Vienna: that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the Queen Regent in his absence. He accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatick sanction was confirmed by the Diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the Electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

An. 1732.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Remarkable instance of suicide.* § II. *Affairs of the Continent.* § III. *Meeting of the Parliament.* § IV. *Address to the King touching the Spanish depredations.* § V. *The Excise scheme proposed by Sir Robert Walpole.* § VI. *Opposition to the scheme.* § VII. *Bill for a dower to the Princess Royal.* § VIII. *Debate in the House of Lords concerning the estates of the late Directors of the South-sea Company.* § IX. *Double election of a King in Poland.* § X. *The Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join against the Emperor.* § XI. *The Prince of Orange arrives in England.* § XII. *Altercation in the House of Commons.* § XIII. *Debate about the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective regiments.* § XIV. *Motion for the repeal of the septennial act.* § XV. *Conclusion of a remarkable speech by Sir W. Wyndham.* § XVI. *Message from the King for powers to augment the forces in the intervals between the two Parliaments.* § XVII. *Opposition in the House of Peers. Parliament dissolved.* § XVIII. *Dantzick besieged by the Russians.* § XIX. *Philipsburgh taken by the French. Don Carlos takes possession of Naples.* § XX. *Battle of Parma.* § XXI. *The Imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla. An edict in France compelling the British subjects in that kingdom to inlist in the French army.* § XXII. *New Parliament in Great-Britain.* § XXIII. *Debate on a subsidy to Denmark.* § XXIV. *Petition of some Scottish noblemen to the House of Peers.* § XXV. *Bill explaining an act of the Scottish Parliament touching wrongous imprisonment.* § XXVI. *Misunderstanding between the Courts of Spain and Portugal. Sir John Norris sails with a strong squadron to Lisbon.* § XXVII.

Preliminaries signed by the Emperor and King of France. § XXVIII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XXIX. *Bill for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors. Another for the relief of Quakers in the article of tithes.* § XXX. *Mortmain act.* § XXXI. *Remarkable riot at Edinburgh.* § XXXII. *Rupture between the Czarina and the Ottoman Pote.* § XXXIII. *The session of Parliament opened by commission.* § XXXIV. *Motion in both Houses for a settlement on the Prince of Wales.* § XXXV. *Fierce debate on this subject.* § XXXVI. *Scheme by Sir John Barnard for reducing the interest of the national debt.* § XXXVII. *Bill against the city of Edinburgh.* § XXXVIII. *Play-house bill.*

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§ I. THE most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide: an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murthered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of

of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murther of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world, exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures; they, therefore, resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. These unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

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§ II. Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as General, and Governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The King of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the Count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however, they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The Bey or Governor of Oran immediately

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mediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight. The strong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first sommons; so that this expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated King of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to re-ascend the throne, his son the reigning King, ordered his person to be seized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escort. His wife, the Marchioness de Spignio, was conducted to Serva. The old King's confessor, his physician, and eight-and-forty persons of distinction were imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the Governor and senate of Chamberry. The dispute which had long subsisted between the King of Prussia and the young Prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by King William III. as head of the House of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dierin. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the piles and timber-work that supported their dykes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, Plenipotentiary from the Elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the Emperor.

§ III. The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual

annual revolution of debates in Parliament. Debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the King declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two Houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the publick business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of Parliament. The motion made in the House of Commons for an address of thanks implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations committed by the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily increased; that no sort of trade throve but the traffick of 'Change-Alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and that every session of Parliament opened a new scene of villainy and imposition.

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§ IV. The pension bill was once more revived, and lost again in the House of Peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the Pretender. Sir Archer Croft said a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, Popery was increasing very fast in that country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests; and that the danger from the Pretender was the

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the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a Protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom: that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and he did not doubt but that, if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the Pretender. His brother Horatio added, that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support his Majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions were properly exposed: nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the King, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the British merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented. The King in answer to this remonstrance gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissioners of the two Crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents, that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and that as the Courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the House of Commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar colonies in the West-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and

and the British settlements in North-America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronised and supported by the Court interest, surmounted all objections: and afterwards passed into a law. While the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt. They might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the publick, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking fund if properly managed and reserved. All objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

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§ V. The House having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members: the Commissioners of the customs and excise were ordered to attend the House, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the House on the preceding day. The session was frequent and full; and both sides

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appeared ready and eager for the contest when Sir Robert Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the arts which had been used to prejudice the people against his plan before it was known. He affirmed that the clamours occasioned by these prejudices had originally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themselves by cheating the publick; and that these had been strenuously assisted and supported by another set of men, fond of every opportunity to stir up the people of Great-Britain to mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships to which the American planters were subjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill usage they had met with from their factors and correspondents in England, who, from being their servants, were now become their masters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and the loss sustained by the publick with respect to the revenue. He asserted that the scheme he was about to propose would remove all these inconveniences, prevent numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and add two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum to the publick revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealers in those commodities; he recited the several acts of Parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco: he declared he had no intention to promote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of Excise to those of the Customs: that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the Custom-House, and payable to his Majesty's civil-list as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the Commis-

sioners of the Excise: that the keeper of each ware-house, appointed likewise by the Commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the Custom House, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion destined for home consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound weight, to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity; that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the Crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the publick: that appeals in this, as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his Majesty; and in the country, by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

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§ VI. Such was the substance of the famous excise scheme, in favour of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the

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the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed Lord-Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyll approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by Lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were said to labour, they affirmed that no planter had ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by letters and applications from London: that this scheme, far from relieving the planters, would expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that they would not be able to continue the trade, consequently the planters would be entirely ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent those frauds against which it was said to be provided; that from the examination of the Commissioners of the Customs, it appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty thousand pounds per annum, and might in a great measure be abolished, by a due execution of the laws in being; consequently this scheme was unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote a general excise, which was in all countries considered as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers, and warehouse-keepers, appointed and paid by the Treasury, so as to multiply the dependents on the Crown, and enable it still further to influence the freedom of elections;

tions; that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities, except at certain hours, when attended by those officers: that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay: and that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue: in which case the liberty of Great-Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the House. He said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars: and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the court of Requests, and lobby of the House of Commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the House, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal: and to these the House agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred

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BOOK II. 1733. ferred by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the excise-bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the House of Commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He, therefore, thought proper to drop the design by moving that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then, complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds, and their abettors; these resolves were communicated to the Lord-Mayor of London, the Sheriff of Middlesex, and the High-bailiff of Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the Court of Requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with publick rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise scheme, the House unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the customs; and a committee of twenty-one persons was chosen by ballot for this purpose.

§ VII. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the House of Lords, who proposed some

some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and succeeded by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone some alterations it passed through both Houses, and obtained the Royal assent. The King, by a message to Parliament, had signified his intention to give the Princess Royal in marriage to the Prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's his Majesty should be empowered to apply fourscore thousand pounds, as a marriage dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his Majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year.

§ VIII. The opposition in the House of Lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension bill, the number of land-forces, and a motion made by Lord Bathurst, for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South-Sea Company. The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money, and the Lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed. The ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry; and, therefore, opposed it with all their vigour. Nevertheless, the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South-Sea Company were ordered to lay the account before the House. From this it appeared that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend,

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dividend, even before recourse was had to Parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: Lord Bathurst, therefore, moved for a resolution of the House, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The Duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused, and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the House a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the House divided, and of fifty-seven Peers who voted for the delay, forty-six were such as enjoyed preferment in the Church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length Lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the House ordered that the present and former directors of the South-Sea Company, together with the late inspectors of their accounts, should attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that Lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but the question being put was carried in the negative: yet a very strong protest was entered by the Lords in the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking-fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument, wit, and declamation by the Earl of Stafford, Lords Bathurst and Carteret, and particularly by the Earl of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his staff of Lord-Steward of the Household, and renounced all connection with the ministry. Lord Bathurst moved for a resolution, importing that, in the opinion of the House, the sinking-fund ought for

for the future to be applied, in time of peace and publick tranquillity, to the redemption of those taxes which were most prejudicial to the trade, most burthensome on the manufactures, and most oppressive on the poor of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh day of June, the King gave the Royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session with a speech, in which he took notice of the wicked endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepresentations. CHAP. V. 1733.

§. IX. Europe was now re-involved in fresh troubles by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion. The Elector of Saxony, son to the late King, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French Monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The Emperor, the Czarina, and the King of Prussia espoused the interest of the Saxon: the King of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the Electors: the Marquis de Monti, Ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the Catholick dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the Imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French King no sooner understood that a body of the Emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the Duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French Ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of

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§ X.

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§ X. During these transactions, the French King concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against the Emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The Duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river, and returned to Versailles. The King of Sardinia having declared war against the Emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by Marischall de Villars, and drove the Imperialists out of the Milanese. His Imperial Majesty, dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the King of Great-Britain; and Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the King of England, declaring, however, that the Emperor's advances were too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the Count de Montijo, his Ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannick Majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions. In the mean time he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the Imperial fortress of Aula, the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republick of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy: the States-General signed a neutrality with the French King for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the Emperor or the King of Great-Britain; and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacifick.

§ XI. In November the Prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the Princess Royal: but the marriage was postponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath in

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Somersetshire, to drink the water for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta, the young Duchess of Marlborough, dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the Earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of Chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, Solicitor-General, together with the title of Baron; a promotion that reflected honour upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the Parliament in January, the King told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alleged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his Allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the mean time, he expressed his hope that they would make such provisions as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdom in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both Houses, which, it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of cavilling, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

§ XII. The House of Commons resolved to address his Majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville, should be submitted to the inspection of the Commons; but, after a hard struggle, it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed that the House should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland, some years before the death of King Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the Court members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an empyrick, and the constitution of England to his patient. This pretender in physick (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease: and he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrhœa that would carry him off in a short time: and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient, shocked at this declaration, replies, 'Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular 'doctor, but now I find you are an arrant quack. 'I had an excellent constitution when I first fell 'into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it; 'and now I find I have no other chance for saving 'my life, but by calling for the help of some regular 'physician.' In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition

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position treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance, with respect to his dress. "If I am in plain clothes (said he) "then they call me a slovenly, dirty fellow; and "if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, "shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes." He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was "Steady! steady!" but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to "Thus, thus, and no nearer." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole House. They were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth, was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the publick revenue. Nevertheless the motion in favour of the sufferers was rejected.

§ XIII. When the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, Deputy-Paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land-forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition diputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness. It must be acknowledged,

knowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blamable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their Sovereign, a man whose conduct they thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not, however, prevent the augmentation proposed; but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismission, that Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a Colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of Parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry: yet it was sustained with great vigour and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the King, desiring to know who advised his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham: but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons. It was read a first and second time: but, when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful

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a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that issued in a question, which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation that Sir William Milner, Baronet, member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the House took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay. The accused member protested, upon his honour, that he never did, or ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward, from the Court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in Parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accuser taken into custody: but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition, and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed against stock-jobbing.

§ XIV. But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial Parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of Papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septennial act took place: and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present Majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hinde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the Papists had already begun to use all their influence in favour of those candidates

didates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing Parliament. With respect to his Majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word: but as to the grievances introduced since the law was enacted for septennial Parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted, that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people: a law passed by a Parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alleged against him were said to be committed; but by an act of a septennial Parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witness in his justification, without an expence which perhaps his circumstances would not bear. He asked, if the riot act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation. "Was "not the fatal South-sea scheme (said he) esta- "blished by the act of a septennial Parliament? "And can any man ask, whether that law was at- "tended with any inconvenience? To the glorious "catalogue I might have added the late excise bill, "if it had passed into a law; but, thank heaven, "the septennial Parliament was near expiring before "that famous measure was introduced."

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§ XV. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivalled orator, the

BOOK II. 1783. the uncorrupted Briton, and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect: "Let us suppose a man "abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of "no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised "to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence "of many whimsical events: afraid, or unwilling, "to trust any but creatures of his own making; "lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant "of his country's true interest; pursuing no aim "but that of aggrandizing himself and his favour- "ites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those "who, from the nature of their education, cannot "possibly be qualified for the service of their "country, or give weight and credit to their nego- "ciations. Let us suppose the true interest of the "nation, by such means, neglected or misunder- "stood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, "her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and "her sailors murdered: and all these circumstances "overlooked, lest his administration should be en- "dangered. Suppose him next possessed of im- "mense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a "Parliament chiefly composed of members whose "seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought "at the expence of the publick treasure. In such "a Parliament suppose all attempts made to in- "quire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation "from the distress which has been entailed upon it "by his administration. Suppose him screened by "a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he re- "tains in daily pay, or engages in his particular "interest by distributing among them those posts "and places which ought never to be bestowed "upon any but for the good of the publick. Let "him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, "because he has obtained a Parliament like a packed "jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let "us suppose him domineering with insolence over "all the men of ancient families, over all the men

"of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he "has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, "and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. "With such a minister, and such a Parliament, let "us suppose a case which I hope will never "happen: a Prince upon the throne, uninformed, "ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations "and true interest of his people, weak, capricious, "transported with unbounded ambition, and pos- "sessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case "will never occur; but as it possibly may, could "any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a "Prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, "by such a minister, and that minister supported "by such a Parliament. The nature of mankind "cannot be altered by human laws: the existence "of such a Prince or such a minister we cannot "prevent by act of Parliament; but the existence "of such a Parliament I think we may prevent: as "it is much more likely to exist, and may do more "mischief while the septennial law remains in "force, than if it were repealed: therefore, I am "heartily for its being repealed." Notwithstanding the most warm, the most nervous, the most pathetick remonstrances in favour of the motion, the question was put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of number. 1733.

§ XVI. The triumph of the ministry was still more complete in the success of a message delivered from the Crown in the latter end of the session, when a great many members of the other party had retired to their respective habitations in the country. Sir Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the House, importing that his Majesty might be enabled to augment his forces, if occasion should require such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this Parliament and the election of another. Such an important point, that was said to strike at the foundation of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; An. 1734.

BOOK II. yielded; but, on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardour. The motion for taking the message into consideration was carried in the affirmative; and an address presented to the King, signifying their compliance with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent message, they prepared and passed a bill, enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the Princess Royal, as a mark of his parental favour and affection.

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§ XVII. The opposition in the House of Peers kept pace with that in the House of Commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, the Earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The Duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the Lower House: and it met with the same fate after a warm dispute. Then Lord Cartaret moved for an address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House who advised his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate in which the Duke of Argyle observed, that two Lords had been removed, but only one soldier lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry since the accession of the late King, and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the Crown, that several attempts were made by the Lords in the opposition, to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpose were made by the Earl of Marchmont and the Duke of Bedford; and sustained by the Earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, Lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. They were opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle

castle and Argyle, the Earl of Cholmondely, Earl Paulet, Lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the House of Peers, and Lord Talbot. The question being put on both, they were of course defeated; and the Earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the Royal Family, and exhausted his fortune in supporting the interest and dignity of the Crown. Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority concerning the King's message, demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of Parliament; as also against a bill for enabling his Majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund, for the services of the current year. The business of the session being dispatched, the King repaired to the House of Lords on the sixteenth day of April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the Royal assent, took leave of this Parliament, with the warmest acknowledgment of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal were solemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his Majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

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§ XVIII. The powers at war upon the continent acted with surprizing vigour. The Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzick, in hopes of securing the person of King Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison numerous, and, animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence. For some time they were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and ammunition. On the eleventh day of May a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort

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Fort Wechselmunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted; they therefore re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian entrenchment, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of Admiral Gordon; and now the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechselmunde was surrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltic. Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwarder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzick submitted to the dominions of Augustus III. King of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expence of the war to the Russian General Count de Munich, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun. The Polish Lords at Dantzick signed an act of submission to King Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a council was held in his presence. The recusant nobleman took the oath which he proposed. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the King set out on his return to Dresden.

§ XIX. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. The Count De Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach. The Duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Philipsburgh, while Prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the Empire. On the twelfth day of June, the Duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the Marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards

towards the French lines; but found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged. At length General Watgenau, the Governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The Imperial arms were not more successful in Italy. The Infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spanish forces: published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the Count de Visconti, the German Viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The Count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this General, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos, being proclaimed, and acknowledged King of Naples, created the Count de Montemar Duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with Imperial troops; and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand troops being destined for this expedition were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new Duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don

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Don Carlos as their Sovereign, and took arms in support of his government: so that the Imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, when the Infant determined to visit the island in person.

§ XX. While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the Imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the King of Sardinia and the old Mareschal Duke de Villars. In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the Emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, Count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the Allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the Castle of Colorno. The old French General being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the King of Sardinia retiring to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the Mareschal de Coigny. The Confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the Imperialists at Sorbola, when the Count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or take possession of Parma. The Mareschal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the Imperial General having passed the Parma, began the attack with great impetuosity. He charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed soon after the battle began. Nevertheless, the Prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thousand men dead on the field of battle, and among these many

many officers of distinction. The loss of the Allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory. CHAP. V. 1734.

§ XXI. The Imperial forces retreated to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of Secchia, where they received some reinforcements: then General Count Konigsegg arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and surprised the quarters of Mareschal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Konigsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardour for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length, the Imperial General retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction: nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repassed the Po, and took post on the banks of the Oglio. The Allies crossed the same river, and the Marquis de Maillibois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola; but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize: then he rejoined his army, which retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French Court pay to the

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British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was publiched at Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or inlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the gallies. This edict was executed with the utmost rigour. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great Britain, who were surprised and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The Earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris, as Ambassador from the King of Great-Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry upon this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

§ XXII. While these transactions occurred on the continent, the King of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new Parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two Houses assembled on the fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was re-elected Speaker. The leaders of both parties in all debates, were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former Parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The King in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the States-General of the United Provinces such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace

peace of Europe: that they had considered on one side the pressing applications made by the Imperial Court both in England and Holland for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the House of Austria; and, on the other side, the repeated professions made by the Allies of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honourable and solid terms; that he and the States-General had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negociation for peace. He told them he had used the power vested in him by the last Parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the Crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. He observed, that whilst many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences: and as the best concerted measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He, therefore, expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The address of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The House, in a grand Committee on the supply, resolved, That thirty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; and that the land-forces should be augmented to the number of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only re-produced

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all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardour, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They refuted those fears of external broils, on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation; and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the Emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandize the House of Bourbon.

§ XXIII. Sir William Wyndham moved, that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprize, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney: but after some debate, the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, M. H. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his Majesty, as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event: and as all the powers of

Europe were as much, if not more, interested than the English in the preservation of that balance, should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great-Britain; but should the English be always the first to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the Princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall upon Great-Britain: every State would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation: even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the Grand Pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons: but at the second reading it was rejected upon a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of Lord Polwarth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervour of elocution.

§ XXIV. The minority in the House of Lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing that undue influence had been used for carrying on the election of the sixteen Peers for Scotland. The Duke of Bedford,

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Bedford, who delivered their petition to the House, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed. It was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a short day, before which the petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen Peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the House seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The Partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice, by the Earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the House, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the Lord Chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen Peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution: and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen Peers, as that of the other Peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the House, the Duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the House in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. He was warmly opposed by the country party; and a long debate ensued; after which the question was carried in favour of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was

was read to the House to this effect: That as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their Lordships upon their taking the proper examination: nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their Lordships, that the petition was laid before them upon information, that the list of the sixteen Peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by persons in high trust under the Crown: that this list was shewn to Peers, as a list approved by the Crown; and was called the King's list, from which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular Peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that Peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage Peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the Crown were actually granted to Peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his Majesty's troops were drawn up in the Abbey-Court of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without any apparent cause but that of over-awing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

§ XXV. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the Earl of Abingdon moved, that although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The Earl of Ilay declaring his belief, that no such illegal methods had been practised,

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practised, the other produced a pamphlet, intituled, The Protests of a great Number of noble Lords, entered by them at the last election of Peers for Scotland. Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, Lord Bathurst exhibited an authentick copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered, and the whole affair consigned to oblivion. Divers other motions were made successively by the Lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and the bill for enabling the King to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking-fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the Commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish Parliament, for preventing wrongous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas Corpus act; though it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the Earl of Ilay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out

out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the King in his speech to both Houses, declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States General had not produced the desired effect. He thanked the Commons for the supplies they had granted with such cheerfulness and dispatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the Queen Regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his Majesty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

§ XXVI. By this time the good understanding between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon was destroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid having allowed his servants to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish King's order, with circumstances of rigour and disgrace. His Portuguese Majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish Ambassador in Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective Courts. The two Monarchs expressed their mutual resentment. The King of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portuguese Majesty had recourse to the assistance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alzeveda was dispatched to London, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the King's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British Envoy at the Court of Spain, had communicated to his Catholick Majesty the resolution

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resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his Catholick Majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing, that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandise in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the King of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

§ XXVII. The powers in alliance against the House of Austria, having rejected the plan of pacification concerted by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General, Mr. Walpole, Ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their High Mightinesses, desiring they would, without loss of time, put themselves in a posture of defence by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land: that they might take such vigorous steps in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But before they would subject themselves to such expence, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the Emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interest of Stanislaus; for though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the Primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment, and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that Prince his Sovereign. In Italy the arms of the Allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole island, almost without opposition; while the Imperialists were forced

to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuo. The Emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the Czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the Court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negociation was begun between France and the House of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: That the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the Duke of Lorraine: That Lorraine should be allotted to King Stanislaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France: That the Emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: That the King of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: That Don Carlos should be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba, with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guarantee the pragmatick sanction.

§ XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November: and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of Parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles in which the Emperor and the King of France had agreed; and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-General had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them, that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land; but at the same time observed it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expence,

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until a more perfect reconciliation should be established among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received. After the House had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of Parliament, it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year, the proposal was approved without opposition. But this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, "That the ordinary estimate of the navy "should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures: a debate was produced, the House divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willimot, and other patriots, who demonstrated, that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labour, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

§ XXIX. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was again revived. The King was empowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the sinking fund, for the service of the ensuing year, though this power was not easily granted; and the House resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpose, that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly paid to his Majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous

spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well-concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the Test act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which Protestant Dissenters were confounded with the Roman Catholicks and enemies to the establishment. He was sustained by Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established Church: and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the House, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his Majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors might, in a great degree, affect some part of the civil-list revenues, his Majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole House; but that for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors, were presented by the traders to the British sugar colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, respecting the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from melasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted in favour of the composition known by the name of punch, and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-list by this bill, which

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at length passed through the House, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation. Violent opposition was likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called Quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in the Exchequer, Ecclesiastical, and other Courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed: then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counsel was heard in behalf of those petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long and repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the Lords.

§ XXX. In the month of February the King had sent two members of the privy-council to the Prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his Royal Highness and the Princess of Saxegotha. The proposal being agreeable to the Prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his Majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyricks on the Prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the House by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the House was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of smuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in Parliament. Both made their way through the Lower House, and were sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The number of land-

land-forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt-tax, and land-tax at two shillings in the pound, additional duties on mum, cider, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his Majesty to borrow six hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund. In this session the Parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The Commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favour of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both Houses, and obtained the Royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge across the Thames from New Palace-yard, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the House of Lords were the address of thanks for his Majesty's speech, the Mortmain bill, the Quaker's bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the King closed the session with a speech, in which he told both Houses, that a further convention, touching the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the Emperor and most Christian King: and that negotiations were carrying on by the several powers engaged in the late war, in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern

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at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people: he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in Church and State, as by law established: he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions. Accordingly the Parliament was no sooner prorogued than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the Queen Regent in his absence.

§ XXXI. Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in the due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a smuggler, been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death; but the Queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The common people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shewn to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression: they were fired by a national jealousy; they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving

priving him of life on the very day which the Judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprized and disarmed the town-guards: they broke open the prison-doors; dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution; and, leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence; it, therefore, became the object of a very severe enquiry.

§ XXXII. During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black Sea, and over-ran the greatest part of Crim Tartary. The Czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers: and when she complained of these disorders to the Vizir, she received no satisfaction; besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in despite of the Empress, and committed terrible havock in their route. The Emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the Czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the Maritime Powers in offering his mediation to the Sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but the Czarina insisted upon her retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonourable to the Ottoman empire, the Court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent Powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded be-

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tween the Emperor and France. The Duke of Lorraine had espoused the Emperor's eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned King of Sicily: Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged Sovereign of that kingdom. The Preliminaries were approved and accepted by the Diet of the Empire: the King of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the House of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interest of the Emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negociation. He died at Vienna in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by Count Staremberg, another Imperial General who ranked next to the Prince in military reputation. About the same time Great-Britain sustained a national loss in the death of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was succeeded on the Bench by Lord Hardwicke.

§ XXXIII. The King being indisposed, in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the Parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first day of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The Lord Chancellor, as one of the Peers authorised by this commission, made a speech in his Majesty's name to both Houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them, that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the Powers concerned, ac-

cording to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said, his Majesty could not without surprise and concern observe the many contrivances and attempts carried on, in various shapes and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the Commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. They continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquillity, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four; but this measure was not adopted without opposition; the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, reinforced with one million granted out of the sinking-fund. CHAP. V. 1736.

§ XXXIV. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a-year upon the Prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient time: that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present Majesty in the life-time of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independency of the apparent Heir

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to the Crown. The motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the King's family affairs; and as an effort to set his Majesty and the Prince at variance. But a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the Royal Family. The minister in the midst of his harangue told the House, by his Majesty's command, that on the preceding day the King had sent a message to the Prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing, that his Majesty had given orders for settling a jointure upon the Princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before Parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual; that although his Royal Highness had not thought fit, by any application to his Majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the King, to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his Majesty was informed the Prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his Royal Highness for his Majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list revenues, over and above the Prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his Majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expence which did and must necessarily attend an honourable provision for the whole Royal Family; that the Prince, by a verbal answer, desired their Lordships to lay him with all humility at his Majesty's feet: to assure him that he did, and ever should, retain the utmost duty for his Royal Person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his Majesty's goodness to him or to the Princess, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her Royal Highness; but that, as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands,

hands, and, therefore, he could give no answer to it; that his Royal Highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his Majesty; adding, "Indeed, my Lords, it is in other hands, and I am "sorry for it;" or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the King could afford to allow for the Prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the Son should be rendered altogether independent of the Father.

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§ XXXV. These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the Parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a Prince of Wales; and that in the case of Richard II. who, upon the death of his father the Black Prince, was created Prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from Parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the King himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the King would not have been so forward in creating his grandson Prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his Parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love dotage, and gave himself entirely up to the management of his mistress, Alice Pierce, and his second son, the Duke of Lancaster; a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the Black Prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a doating grandfather, and an ambitious, aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the Prince's yearly expence, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed,

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§ XXXVI. The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed the sum of one million should be granted to his Majesty, towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-Sea Company, commonly

commonly called South-Sea Annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the Bank, as part of that incumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent. whereas the interest paid for the other sums that constituted the publick debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his Majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that such of the said annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those publick securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only were sold at a premium in Change-Alley; he was, therefore, persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security would gladly lend their money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of publick faith: that then the produce of the sinking-fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies: he proved that this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of Parliament, that they

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they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms: in which case the sinking-fund would rise to one million six hundred thousand pounds per annum. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate one half of it, by freeing the people from the taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and such other impositions as lay heavy upon the poor labourers and manufacturers; the remaining part of the sinking-fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and publick debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking-fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently opposed by Alderman Heathcote, and other partisans of the ministry: yet all their objections were refuted; and, in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington moved, that all the publick creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, should be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the Government to borow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that interest, but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of four-and-forty millions, who might choose to have their principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot, who projected this scheme, moved that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced

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to three per cent. the House would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers: but this motion was rejected by the majority. CHAP. V. 1736.

§ XXXVII. The last disputes of this session were excited by a bill sent down from the Lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the session Lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted upon the atrocious murder of Captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult upon the government, and a violation of the publick peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected. He seemed to think that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter: and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was seconded by the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Ilay: though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which, he said, could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The Lords resolved, That the magistrates and other persons from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot should be ordered to attend; and, That an address should be presented to his Majesty desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of Captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of the House. These documents being accordingly examined, and all the An. 1737.

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Commons, where it produced a violent contest. The Commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these were assisted by prentice boys, and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh; that the Lord Provost had taken all the precautions to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested; that he even exposed his person to the rage of the multitude, in his endeavour to disperse them; and that if he had done amiss he erred from want of judgment, rather than from want of inclination to protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared, that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, had gone in person to General Moyle, Commander of the forces in North-Britain, informed him of the riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promised to conduct his troops into the city; and that his suit was rejected, because he could not produce a written order from the magistracy, which he neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor ventured to carry about his person through the midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish members exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity in defence of that capital. They were joined by Sir John Barnard, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared, that if any gentleman would show where one argument in the charge against the Lord Provost and the city of Edinburgh had been proved, he would that instant give his vote for the commitment of the bill. He said, if gentlemen would lay their hands upon their hearts, and ask themselves, whether they would have voted in this manner had the case of Edinburgh been

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been that of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich, he was persuaded they would have required that every tittle of the charge against them should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the House, was sent back to the Lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the Royal assent.

§ XXXVIII. The next effort of the minister was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much for his interest to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so successfully reduced to a system, and all the blemishes of his administration, had been exposed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the most eminent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success among the people. He either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service: he, therefore, employed a set of wretched authors, void of understanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the animadversions of his antagonists. The match was so extremely unequal, that, instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity to choak those canals through which the torrent of censure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a playhouse communicated to him a manuscript farce, intituled, The Golden Rump, which was fraught with treason and abuse upon the government, and had been presented to the stage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the House of Commons. The minister descanted upon the insolence, the malice, the immorality, and the seditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical

theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses; to subject all dramatick writers to the inspection of the Lord Chamberlain; and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both Houses with extraordinary dispatch, and obtained the Royal sanction. In this debate the Earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our stage (said he) ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must, therefore, be unnecessary; and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its allay of evil. Licentiousness is the allay of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand; lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the King's courts are open: the law is sufficient to punish the offender. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained

as

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" as other subjects are, by the known laws of their " country: if they offend, let them be tried as every " Englishman ought to be, by God and their " country. Do not let us subject them to the ar- " bitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power " lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and " determine without limitation, controul, or appeal, " is a sort of power unknown to our laws, inconsis- " tent with our constitution. It is a higher, a more " absolute power than we trust even to the King " himself; and, therefore, I must think we ought " not to vest any such power in his Majesty's Lord " Chamberlain." His arguments had no effect, though the House admired his elocution: and the playhouse bill passed into a law. On the twenty-first day of June the King made a short speech to both Houses, and the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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